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THE COUNTRY STORE IN POST-CIVIL WAR TENNESSEE

By Thomas D. Clark

Tennessee's oblong map is dotted with tiny spots of ink which represent hundreds of crossroads villages. Often these places are figuratively little larger than the ink spots, and they contain no more than a combination store and postoffice. It has been the village, rather than the cities, however, which have set the tone of a major portion of Tennessee life. This influence has even reached into the cities and influenced a major portion of the urban population.

The rural Tennessee mind has ever had a combination touch of the poet, the American frontiersman and the Irish wit about it. When an enterprising countryman engaged in the business of erecting a town, he was first concerned with the two important matters of locating and naming his place. He literally looked up and down the road, up the hill and down the branch, and picked out a name which would ever connote a country village. Some of their choices of names are intriguing, some are downright comical, and some are purely the results of accidents. Strung together these village names characterize not only a state but a nation of people who have either lived at the crossroads or recall them with the fondest nostalgia.

A few of the place names selected at random are Dancing Branch, Pinhook Landing, Denson's Landing, Ozone, Dellray, Walland, Rhea Springs, Eulia, Pall Mall, Lobelsville, Cerro Gordo, Isoline, Gold Dust, Como, White Fern, Thornhill, Leoma, Montezuma, Eagleville, Allisona, College Grove, Allardt, Peavine, Charley's Branch, Bon Aqua, Little Lot, Samburg, Walnut Log and Wartburg. Sometimes these village names sound important, and certainly on the map it takes just as big type to print them as it does the county-seat towns. As significant as these little village dots appear on an inanimate sheet of paper, they have been veritable prime movers in both Tennessee domestic economy and public opinion. Back of these crossroads is a long history of real importance. Unlike many of the other southern states, there is a more intimate tie-up with the old American frontier. The Ten-

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nessee village pattern is definitely of ante-bellum origin, and in the eastern part of the state especially, the names of villages are often reminiscent of the westward movement. Despite the fact that they are old, most of these villages never grew beyond being crossroads. Bean Station and Tazewell, for instance, are of early origin, but until the flooding of the former in 1941, it never became anything more than a fascinating easy-going village.[1]

After the Civil War the crossroads took on a new importance, partly because of the greater local demands of the people for goods at points near their homes. A change in the means of distributing merchandise was effected by the wholesale houses located in centers such as Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville, and in the big border cities outside the state. They sought outlets for their wares, and the crossroads merchants promised to be a highly satisfactory distributor of goods. Houses like Orgill Brothers, Spurlock-Neal and Company, Phillips-Buttorff Manufacturing Company, O'Bryan Brothers, the Chattanooga Plow Company, The Spencer Medicine Company, The Cowan Company, and Berry, Demonville and Company looked to the country storekeepers as their best outlets of trade.[2]

Tennessee storekeepers seem to have been cut from a common pattern. Those earlier ones who started businesses right after the Civil War were often Methodist or Baptist stewards and deacons, members of the Masonic lodge, ex-Confederate veterans, Democrats and fourth-class postmasters. Few of them had much education, and none of them had been exactly buck privates in the army. Goodspeed's patronizing writers always played up their military records, and several of them were referred to as "high" privates in the army. Nearly all of them started on a "shoe string" and accumulated property and money enough to take some smug satisfaction in their latter years in their accomplishments. Occasionally, an enterprising young man located himself a store site and went into business, and through the proper amount of political pull he organized a postoffice, and with proper modesty often gave the place his name.[3]

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[1] The population of most of the Tennessee villages was stabilized soon after the '90's. There were 341 persons in Tazewell in 1870 and 1,592 in 1890. Bean Station was a village of 905 in 1870 and no figure is given for it in 1890. *Ninth Census* . . . 1870, *Population*, pp. 262, 263; *Eleventh Census* . . . 1890, *Population*, p. 374.

[2] These wholesale houses are all represented in the invoice books of the Tennessee country stores. See spcifically thos of W. T. Hay and Company, Pleasant Point; E. L. Williams, Eagleville; Reed Brothers, Flat Lick; and the J. C. Brown invoices, Faunsdale, Alabama. These books are a part of the collection of southern mercantile records, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington.

[3] *History of Tennessee, Thirty Counties of East Tennessee*, Goodspeed Publishing Company (Nashville, 1887); *ibid., Twenty-Five Counties of Central Tennessee* (Nashville, 1887). These two volumes contain numerous personal sketches of merchants.

Characteristic of these thrifty young men was Zachary T. Watkins of Ooltewah, who went into partnership with G. B. F. Guthrie in 1867. In 1871 he bought his partner's interest, and at the time he was interviewed as to his life's success, he had a first class stock of goods, was receiving a liberal patronage, and he owned a considerable amount of real property. He was a "true" Democrat, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and postmaster.[4]

The Tennessee country stores have been merchandising institutions of a most picturesque type. They have stood with a certain amount of dilapidated dignity at the crossing of main roads, at the head of hollows, and high above the rivers on bluff pedestals which have lifted them out of the floods. Usually they have been two-story affairs, with the stores downstairs, and masonic lodges overhead. Proudly they have reared their massive square fronts on which were painted in bright letters the names of their proud owners, names which were splashed on by uninspired painters in the hire of medicine, tobacco, milling and farm implement companies. Their heavily-barred shutters gaped open in the daytime, and were bolted tight to give a complete sense of rural security at night. Rattling tin signs which swung on metal rings from rods, or were nailed to the side walls told travelers that they should take Ramon's or Tutt's pills, and that they were at that moment "right square" in front of Allisona, Tennessee, or that they were as near the main part of Cerro Gordo as they could ever hope to get. Perhaps the sign was there for no other purpose than to give the necessary official appearance due one of Uncle Sam's fourth-class postoffices.[5]

The solid wooden doors, blank walls and gallery post were public property. Here was the community bulletin board where spectacular wares of post-war industrial America were advertised. The medicine companies paraded the ills of man, and the cures therefor on their garish signs. From Laurel Bloomery in Johnson County to Capleville in Shelby County the large black and yellow signs of the Chattanooga Medicine Company reminded an ailing public of the dangers of constipation, and promised relief from the

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See specifically those of William F. Blevins, p. 1050, T. W. Burke, p. 1034, M. A. Roberts, p. 1187, Henry G. Marsh, p. 1252, *Counties of East Tennessee;* J. W. Alexander, p. 905, Chesley Williams, p. 1074, *Counties of Central Tennessee.*

[4]*Ibid., Thirty Counties of East Tennessee,* p. 961.

[5]The usual classification for country-store postoffices was fourth class, and merchants operated them for the cancellation. Perhaps the most thorough listing of rural villages in Tennessee is to be found in the *Population* volumes of the United States *Census Reports* for 1860, 1870, and 1880 under the population "breakdown" of villages.

original sin of womankind.[6] Wine of Cardui and Thetford's Black Draught were available everywhere there was a stock of goods. Ramon Pill signs were as commonplace on country store fronts as nail heads, and the Bull of Durham cavorted in a rollicking state of animated suspension wherever there was enough store wall on which to nail him. Chewing tobacco under a score of dulcet names which were carefully calculated to excite the imagination of the languid patrons of the store were a part of the highly commercial patchwork.[7]

Rivaling the myriad commercial ads were those of auctions, barbecues, official and funeral notices. In fact, anybody who wished to post a bill had an inalienable right to do so. A stranger could stand before some of the country stores and guess with a fair degree of accuracy what had, and what was about to take place in the community for a year's time. Year after year these aging store buildings sloughed off their coats of signs only to be covered over with another.[8]

Inside, the stores were merchandising museums. A general sort of an effort was made to departmentalize the stock but it was practically impossible to stick to any plan long at a time. Soon the drugs and the notions were shuffled together. Tobacco, cigarettes, hair dressing, shoe tacks and other bits of merchandise were occupying the same place. Dry goods were placed on shelves, stacked up in boxes, hung on nails from the ceiling, and stacked on counters and tables in the front end of the house. Nail kegs circled the stove. Horseshoes and plow tools were crowded into niches around the base of the counters. In the rear of the store there were the feed and flour racks, the barreled goods, the eating counter, the kerosene stand, the axle grease barrel, the coffee sack,

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[6]Before 1906, and the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Wine of Cardui package carried the word "cure" in its legend. Likewise, many of the almanac testimonials were extravagant in their claims. Outdoor signs were painted on outbuildings which presented a sufficient amount of blank wall to a main road. Usually the medicine company secured permission from farmers to put its sign on one wall of a barn in turn for painting that side.

[7]Some of the sweeter names were Little Rosebud, Little Ethell, Kitty May, Peach Pie, Apple, Pure Honey, Sponge Cake, and Sunny Hours. There were a few favorites with names not so sweet; these were Blood Hound, Heel Tap, Good and Tough, and Brown's Mule. An interesting letter is the following from D. F. McCoy and Co. to Chesley Williams (June 5, 1882, Williams MS.): "Your grandson, Mr. Tom Ransom, advises us to write you concerning manufactured [*sic*] tobacco. We are selling goods in Owl Hollow, and will be greatly pleased if you will furnish us with wholesale prices of several qualities of tobacco. You know pretty well what would suit this market. . . . P.S.: Please give no prices on 'heel tap'."

[8]Within twenty years some store doors and fronts were so full of nails that they were literally lined with iron. It is a sight rarely seen in Tennessee for a storehouse to be free enough of signs on its front to clearly identify the wood from any distance. Sometimes this array of signs has done no credit to the economic and intellectual condition of the people in the stores' communities.

the buggy whip rack, bundles of backbands and coils of rope. Hanging down from the ceiling were rows of leather, canvass and shuck horse collars. Bunches of breeching hanks of leather lines, saddles and buggy harness were suspended from the overhead brackets and hooks.

Underneath the front counters in the earlier stores were the shoe cabinets stocked with brogan shoes tied in pairs and with the wooden pegs still untrimmed. They were tied in pairs which were approximate matches in size only, because there was no difference in design between right and left feet. When clerks sold these shoes they ran a special knife up and down the rows of pegs cutting them off flush with the insole. There were the brass-toe boots with their characteristic red-flannel tops, the shiny patent leather square-toed "high quarters" for the dandies, and the "comfort" mule-skin models for those who had passed the age of romantic hopefulness. Too, there were ladies' shoes with their leg-length tops, fancy-stitched toes and low heels. Some of these were laced with long strings while others were buttoned from top to bottom, and none of them showed off an ankle to any sort of an advantage.

Occasionally, venturesome merchants offered ready-made suits and dresses for sale, but generally these garments were made from cloth sold over the counter in yard or piece goods. It was not until the late nineties that ready-made clothes came on the market in the general-store trade. The women's clothing trade was fairly profitable nevertheless. There was a strong demand for corsets, corset stays, dress stiffening, lace collars, shawls, and hats. From the frequency with which certain merchants entered charges for corset stays in their account books it would seem that the woman of the post-Civil War period was either too robust to be held in by artificial form builders, or that she worked overtime trying to force an unruly torso into space meant for one with much less possibility of expansion.

Visible stock, however, was not the entire feature of the trade. There was more to a storekeping story than simply displaying merchandise; there was that intangible asset of smell. Every Tennessee store had its aroma. It was of everything in stock and of nothing in particular. It was of kerosene, salt meat, horse collars, oranges, cheese, new shoes, Hoyt's cologne, axle greese, oil cloth, onion sets, stale sardine cans, molasses, rancid wool, glaze on print goods, broken eggs, the tobacco-covered stove and the customers. A store without a smell would be about as unexciting as one without a stove and an eating counter. Certainly this has contributed to the nostalgia which rural customers have felt for crossroads stores. Many a native son who has wandered away from

the country is reminded of the good old days every time he catches a whiff of a country store.

Merchandise, of course, made the store. There perhaps has never been a more exciting pastime than that of browsing through the jumbled stock of a country store in search of nothing in particular, but looking just to see what bargains might be available. For rural customers this was a more adventurous experience even than looking through a mail-order catalog and planning the purchase of many things if only money were available. In the country store one actually saw the merchandise, and he never quite knew what would be the next thing uncovered.

Everywhere in Tennessee the stores were gathering places for their communities. Their porches were usually crowded in warm weather with loafers who were quite capable of rendering glib decisions and advice which would settle the perplexing problems of the state and nation. Perhaps if the statistical facts could be ascertained, the courses of more elections have been determined in the past around the country stores than at the polls themselves. Tennessee politicians appreciated this fact and they were careful to visit the stores. They often spoke from their porches, and always nailed up their placards and left cards on the store counters. Dozens of Bob and Alf Taylor stories have been repeated around the stoves and on the porches. Austin Peay, Ed Crump, Cordell Hull, Prentice Cooper—all of them have been discussed over and over. It was this country-store taste that gave some credence to the possibility of success for Roy Acuff, had he chosen to run for the governorship.[9]

During cold weather the stovesides were gathering places. On rainy days half the local population crowded itself into the stores to whittle, to chat and to spit meditatively upon the stoves. With heads bowed intimately toward the stove a continuous string of salacious stories was passed around. Dream crops were grown in great abundance, horses were bred, beef cattle prepared for the market, foxes chased up every hill, and the reputation of every person not present examined and exposed. So enthusiastic were many of these gatherings that merchants found it necessary to keep sacks of meal, flour and feed well back away from the stove circle

[9]There is no way, of course, of actually measuring the effects of the stores as centers of public opinion, but certainly the political discussions were effective either in uniting or hopelessly dividing communities during elections. Certainly no practical politician was willing to overlook the stores as centers of political activity. It was necessary, however, for merchants in many communities to stay astraddle the political fences in order not to offend their customers. Papers of the politicians appear among those of the merchants. See specifically the letters of P. J. McMullen to Chesley Williams (January 21, 1904, Williams MS.), in which he sought election to the United States Senate, and that of J. T. Williamson (April 19, 1900) seeking election to Congress (University of Kentucky Library).

to prevent them from being smashed into flat pancakes by the loungers.

Outside in warm weather open spaces about the store were used as jockey lots for trading horses, as ball fields, for horseshoe pitching, scuffling and neighborhood fighting. Frequently political gatherings took place about the stores, and sometimes the barbecues for which Tennessee has been famous were held on the grounds. Certainly the porches were places where an idle countryman could take his seat and see all the world that was going to pass that particular spot go by.

The store was a place of first and last appeal. It supplied everything that a simple-living country people needed in both life and death. Illustrative of this fact is a ragged little note laboriously scrawled by a hand which was unused to the feel of a pencil, addressed to a clerk in the Reed Brothers' store in Williamson County. "mr. tom biggers," read the note, "Please Send mee 8 yards of Cotton cloth fitten to make a dress if you have got it five cents cloth and i will pay you the next time i com over there." A neighbor wrote, asking the same merchant to send him "10 cts worth of tinkturl of iron one 10 cts bottle of quinine and 10 cts worth of arodine if you have it and i will settle for the same."[10] Another combined the workaday business of ordering from the store with a tinge of inviting Mae West sociality. She asked a local merchant to send her "1 spool white thread no 40 of black 40 and 5 cents worth of spice. I heard you was giving 10 cents for Eggs Come up soon I am as ever Sopha."[11]

Of all the seasons around the country store none excelled that of Christmas. It was a season when new and exciting goods were put on display, and new and tantalizing smells were added to those of everyday business. The grocery shelves and the floor were lined with Christmas goods crowded among the monotonous collection of merchandise of a less exciting character. A grocery list purchased in 1896 of Orr, Hume and Company by the Reed store is enough to indicate the type of new stock which was added for the holiday season. There were boxes and baskets of candy, including stick, fancy mixed, gum and straight fancy, boxes of raisins, oranges, bags of cocoanuts, hoops of cheese, ginger snaps, salty crackers, Brazil nuts, almonds, English walnuts, Roman candles, gun caps, pepper sauce, a keg of powder, smoking pipes, pickles, rock candy, and a side of tanned leather. This was enough to start Christmas off with a bang. Already there were in stock cases of cove oysters, salmon, sardines, kegs of salt mackerel, apples, sugar, chocolate for

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[10] J. B. Reed manuscript, September 24, 1892.
[11] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1890.

cakes, and spices.[12]

An examination of personal accounts reveals the regard with which the countryman held the Christmas season. A dandy like Elijah Russell saw in it an opportunity to make headway with his courting activities, and his purchases were devoted to that end. Two days before Christmas in 1871, Elijah bought himself a new pair of boots, a razor strap, a brush, a cake of soap, a bottle of hair oil, 2 linen handkerchiefs, some sugar and coffee, three candles, 3 yards of jeans and a spool of thread.[13] A queer mixture of merchandise, but the emotions of a dandy in the realistic decade beginning with 1871 were as badly mixed. While Elijah Russell was strapping his razor, lathering his face and greasing down his hair, his less romantically inclined neighbors were buying fancy candy, firecrackers, Roman candles, raisins and oranges, and toys. It was with the greatest simplicity that Tennesseans celebrated their Christmas holidays. Courting, shooting firecrackers and hunting seems to have occupied most of their time. Kegs of black powder and boxes of caps which were added to stock in December by merchants was indicative of the importance of hunting as a Christmas-time sport. Many men who never picked up a gun at any other time of the year found it exciting sport to try their luck during Christmas week. For the storekeeper the Christmas trade was profitable. He secured a profit on the extra goods which he sold through the store, and it was a break between closing out the old year's business and opening the books for the new accounts. For his customers it was an opportunity to break the monotony of everyday living with extras which under other circumstances they could never have hoped to buy.[14]

Thousands of store notes scribbled on queer bits of paper poured into merchants and their clerks to be deciphered, and requests either granted or refused. On the back of Ray Jordan's card, which he handed out as a candidate for tax assessor, a customer wrote, let Mayhem have a pare of half soles."[15] There seem to have been an absolute trust that merchants would deliver the proper goods. Customers depended upon them even for the selection of colors and sizes. No one short of a seasoned country merchant could

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[12] *Ibid.*, September 24, 1892.

[13] E. L. Williams, Daybook, December 23, 1871, p. 469.

[14] A typical Christmas account for a rural Tennessean was that of W. J. Woods, in J. B. Reed, Daybook, December 24, 1880, p. 277. This account contained 2 packages of firecrackers, ½ pound of candy, 2 pounds of sugar, 1 doll and one box of annaline. For excellent invoices see those issued by Goodall, McLesters and Company, December 8, 1881, Spire and Duff, December 10, 1881, and Rock City Steam Bakery, December 10, 1881. J. E. R. Carpenter and Company, Invoice Book, 1881-1882, pp. 316-322.

[15] Bill Muncey to J. B. Reed, February 20, 1892, Reed MS.

remain patient in the face of the demand that he send "one suit of clothes, 1 shirt no 15. 1 pair of shoes no 9, 1 colla 1 neck tie Black and charged to me and Oblidge."[16] Perhaps the women of Tennessee in the 90's were less hard to please than are their modern daughters, or maybe they had unusual confidence in their storekeepers. In any case, it sounds strange to read a note, written in April, 1891, that Jemima Adams wanted "9 yards of 5 cts. calico dark for lineing 2 yards of green 3 of light i want some remnents of worsted 2 or 3 yards of red and blue and one or 2 light one spool of black thread no 16 500 yards 10 yards of bleach domestic one shirt bosom i will come down when the Roads get better."[17]

Mixed in with the simple everyday requests for meat, shoes, socks, salt, sugar and coffee are those that request "1# of gum opium," or please "send me Bottle of morphine and I will settle with you."[18] Requests for opiates and household goods were frequently combined in an incongrous manner. A customer in 1889 requested J. B. Reed to send her "one brass kittle two spools of thread 60 white one bottle of morphine and one ounce of indigo."[19] An ailing customer needed "4 yds. of calico like this, box of Tutts pills if not the pills 5 cts of calomel oblige."[20]

Both death and education were served with about equal regularity by the country merchant. When a death occurred in the community the merchant was usually the first to know about it. It was he who sent out the word to relatives and friends, displayed funeral notices in his windows, supplied hardware and lining material for the homemade coffins and clothing for the corpse. Characteristic of this trade are the following notes: "Jerome we want 8 yds of Victoria lawn 2 yds white ribbon such as you have 1 pair white stockings. If you haven't the lawn send the nicest white goods you have in the store to make a shroud."[21] A second note ordered Jerome to send "a shroud for Racheal 10 yards of India linen 6 yards black domestic 5 yards white flannel 3 yards Ribbon white

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[16]Catherine Hartly to J. B. Reed, November 14, 188?, Reed MS. Other customers wanted "1 fur hat no. 7⅛, and 1 pair shoes no. 9." W. J. Skinner and Sun [*sic*]. W. R. Skinner to J. B. Reed, May 25, 1895, requested J. B. Reed to "pleas let Frank Rucker have a pare of shoes and a pare of pants and a pare of gallises."

[17]Jemima Adams to J. B. Reed, April, 1891, Reed MS.

[18]Ison Tomlen to J. B. Reed, 1895, Reed MS.

[19]Jemima Adams to J. B. Reed, 1889. Morphine appeared in account books with some degree of regularity. For a descriptive entry see that of Em Reed in the J. B. Reed Journal, February 7, 1880, p. 143. Another is that of R. A. Biggers, June 12, 1880, *ibid.*, pp. 145, 146. To check the sale of opiates in the drug trade see the invoices of Pendleton, Hooper and Company, Nashville to J. E. Carpenter, Napier Furnace. Carpenter's Invoice Book, April 4, 1881, p. 190. See also the early invoices in the same volume, which were issued by Berry, Demonville and Company, Nashville.

[20]C. C. Smithson to J. B. Reed, April, 1891, Reed MS.

[21]L. W. S. to J. B. Reed, 1890, Reed MS.

3 yards lace 1 pair white shoes 1 spool of white thread no 61 1 pr. gloves white 1 paper of pins." [22]

Educational notes were a little more cheerful, and perhaps are a little more reminiscent of an uncertain age in Tennessee history when the Goodspeed biographical writers said of their subjects with deadening repetition that they received a "good education in the local academy." Pasted inside the front covers of some of the journals and ledgers of country merchants were lists of school books in current use.[23] These lists give a good picture of the Tennessee rural school. Following the traditional pattern of a maximum fourth-grade education, store shelves were stocked with McGuffy, Butler and Goodrich readers, Stephens and Goodrich histories, Harvey's grammars, Webster's spelling books, copy books, slates and slate pencils.[24]

School opening was characterized by the influx of order notes asking for school supplies. Teachers and pupils alike appealed to the stores to supply their needs. The teachers needed new clothes for themselves, and crayon, brooms, bells, waterbuckets, dippers, well buckets, stove pipe, shovels, and stove repairs for the school houses.[25] Bessie Walker's note asking for supplies is characteristic of thousands of others. She ordered "McGuffey's *Fourth Eclectic Reader,* Harvey's *First Lessons in the English Language,* Ray's *New Practical Arithmetic, First Lesson in Geography,* copy book, pen & ink, slate and pencil."[26] This was a typical fourth-grade order, and it largely characterizes the extent of public education in Tennessee for many years following the Civil War. The slate and pencil performed yeoman service for both classrooms and families which were short of paper. Bound in its familiar wooden frame encased in red felt and securely laced with a black cord, the slate was a highly utilitarian bit of education equipment. An extravagant child

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[22]G. A. Reed to J. B. Reed, August, 1893, Reed MS.

[23]All of the stores which handled books kept such records. See specifically the inside cover of the E. L. Williams' Journal, 1873. An early list of books recommended by the county superintendents and which was in the hands of storekeepers contained Webster's *Spelling Book,* Webster's *School Dictionary,* McGuffey's *Reader,* 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, Ray's *Arithmetic, Ecclectic Geography* and Stephen's *History of the United States.* In later years the Tennessee School Book Depositories published lists of eligible books, and used the country merchants as agents. "Agent's order forms," author's possession. Invoices for school supplies, W. T. Hay, Invoice Book, 1890-1892, p. 123; J. E. Carpenter, *ibid.,* Napier Furnace, 1881-1882, p. 312.

[24]Accounts in which books appear are numerous. For specific accounts see the following entries in the Williams Journal: J. L. Jackson, January 9, 1871, p. "H"; Edward Webb, January 9, 1871, p. "H"; A. Work, Jr., February 2, 1871, p. 8; James A. Neely, March 25, 1871, p. 53; and J. M. Smotherman, July 24, 1871, p. 225.

[25]See Fred M. Jordan to E. L. Williams, Eagleville, Tennessee, no date. "Sir," wrote this teacher, "by order from the Director and clerk Mr. Lowe I ask you to please send me two buckets, two dippers, a broom and a box of crayon and charge the same to the board? [*sic*]. Do this and oblige yours as ever, Customer? [*sic*]." E. R. Carpenter, Invoice Book, March, 1881, p. 169.

[26]Bessie Walker to J. B. Reed, undated, Reed MS.

could draw and scribble to its heart's content without wasting anything but slate pencil. The slates could be purchased for ten, fifteen and twenty cents, depending upon the size. Slate pencils came in boxes and each individual pencil was wrapped in the United States flag. For a country store to be without slate pencils was almost as embarrassing as for it to be without sugar and salt.[27]

Country schools began in Tennessee usually in February and July, and charge accounts give an excellent picture of the lakadaisical attitudes of parents who were required to furnish textbooks. Purchases were scattered over almost the entire period of the brief term of the schools. If the advocates of the public issuance of textbooks need ammunition for their cause they can find it in the early store ledgers. Despite the laxness with which many patrons attended to their children's book needs, getting them started to school was for some families a serious affair. On February 20, 1871, Mrs. James A. Jarrad of Eagleville bought of J. C. Williams "47 yards of jeans, 36½ yards of prints for lining, 4 handkerchiefs, 1 slate, 1 hank of yarn, 4 spools of thread, 1½ yards plaid linsey, 2½ brown domestic, 3 skeins flax thread, 3 coat buttons, 5 slate pencils, agate buttons, 1 bottle of ink, 1 quire of paper, 7 paper of seeds, 1 spelling book, ½ oz of spice."[28]

Often there crept into store papers evidence of the kind of discipline and teaching which occurred in the schools. Scrawled in a bold school-boy hand one time after another is the statement that "Francis Key wrote the Star Spangled Banner," "The Green Mountains are in Vermont," "South Carolina border [sic] on the Atlantic," and "The World's Fair is being held in Paris."[29] One can draw upon his imagination as to why a school boy took all the time to fill two pages of foolscap with these four statements, but the remarkable thing is the shape of the letters. Teachers exerted a powerful influence upon their pupils' handwriting. Using a cramped old-fashioned hand, the child repeated over and over the four simple statements, learning history, geography and handwriting at the same time. His was the handwriting of the age, and it found its way into the account books of the stores, the records of the country, into notes to merchants, and the correspondence of private individuals. Somewhere a master had set the copy and it was kept alive by a generation of copybook artists.

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[27]Slates sold wholesale for $1.75 a dozen, plain pencils were $2.50 per thousand, and pencils encased in wood were $1.50 for six dozen. Belknap Hardware Company, *Catalogue* 29, Louisville, 1901. See school supplies invoice of Pollard, Black and Company, October 1, 1891, Nashville, to W. T. Hay, Pleasant Point. W. T. Hay, Invoice Book, p. 123.

[28]E. L. Williams, Journal, p. 23.

[29]Copybook material in J. B. Reed MS.

Need for education and medicine were just about equally balanced in rural Tennessee, and one need was just about as adequately filled as the other. The state was a haven for the medicine men who once provoked such wrath from the crusaders such as Samuel Hopkins Adams, Edward Bok and the editors of *The Journal of the American Medical Association*. Perhaps the most popular medicine sold through the country stores was Ramon's pills. Certainly every store had its sign near the door telling customers that if they suffered from backache, or were constipated, they should take Ramon's pills for relief. This powerful cathartic was a home product manufactured by the Brown Manufacturing Company of Greeneville. Besides their famous pill the Brown Company had for sale "nerve and bone oil," "croup syrup," "worm syrup," and American stock syrup."[30]

Competing effectively with the makers of Ramon's pills, was the Spencer Medicine Company of the same town. Each year the long lists of Spencer remedies found their way to the Tennessee stores, and the merchants had only to check the quantity of each remedy on the simple order forms to stock their shelves. There was a medicine for every ailment a customer could possibly imagine he had. Reading the Spencer list is almost like repeating a full historical chapter of American post-Civil War quackery. The ills of the poor overworked and ill-cared-for Tennessee female was an important source of revenue for the irresponsible nostrum sellers. Heading the Spencer list was Baker's Female Regulator. Reading the names of this collection merchants discovered such fantastic remedies as "Planter's Cuban Oil," "Hindoo Teething Syrup," "Hindoo Hop and Iron Tonic," and "Planter's Pills." This company likewise sold the home "standard" drugs such as turpentine and sweet and castor oil. At Manchester, J. E. Hough and Sons likewise had a long list of pills, kidney tonics, ointments and conditioning powders.[31]

There were nearly a score more of companies who found Tennessee both an excellent place to sell patent remedies and a good base of operations for capturing the southern market. One of these was the Chattanooga Medicine Company, which capitalized upon two frontier recipes compounded by two Tennesseans named A. O. Simmons and R. L. McElree. These formulas were bought by

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[30]Brown Manufacturing Company, invoice, Greeneville, Tennessee, September 22, 1890. W. T. Hay, Invoice Book, Pleasant Point, p. 6.

[31]J. E. Hough and Sons, invoice and order form, October 15, 1890, *ibid.*, p. 8. For a study in country store medicine orders see R. McReady and Company, Cincinnati, invoice, November 5, 1881, to J. E. R. Carpenter and Company, Napier Furnace, Tennessee. Carpenter's Invoice Book, p. 306. This invoice contains a good list of proprietary drugs. Copies of the Spencer list are to be found in the W. T. Hay Invoice Book, 1890-1892, pp. 92-93.

J. H. Thetford and after the war they were sold to Z. C. Patten, who founded the Chattanooga Medicine Company. Second president of the company was Adolph Ochs, the young newspaper man from Knoxville.[32] This company has made millions of dollars with its famous Black Draught and Wine of Cardui. These two medicines are standard merchandise wherever there is a stock, and many a Tennessean's eyes brighten a bit when he catches sight of *The Ladies Birthday Almanac* and *The DeVoe Weather Chart and Calendar* with its large white squares and highly legible figures. Since 1890 these have adorned the walls and mantels of a large percentage of the living--bedrooms of Tennessee rural homes. In many instances *The Ladies Birthday Almanac* has shared honors with the *Bible* and the mail-order catalog as literature for the rural and village folk. The medicines which they advertised have played an important role in the general efforts to treat ailments of every sort.

"Fly-by-night" quacks of every type have offered their insidious concoctions to suffering Tennesseans and at extravagant prices. At Chattanooga conscienceless old fraud named Dr. H. B. F. Pitt, president of the Chicamauga Medicine Company, offered for sale *Dr. Pitt's Old Never Failing Painless Chicamauga Cancer Remedies.* He did not sell his goods through the stores, but sought the merchants' aid in building up his sucker list. He printed his letters on letterheads with two inset drawings of one of his victims, portraying a ravenous "before and hale and hearty after case" of robbing the grave of what seemed a certain victim. For $3.26, the letter said, a man could be cured of "the worst kind of cancer in from ten to thirty days. . . ." It admonished merchants with the pious command that they should "Remember, we are promised in the Holy Bible rewards for all our good deeds, especially when done for the afflicted." Too many others like the criminal Dr. Pitt preyed upon the innocent and unsuspecting Tennesseans in their moments of affliction.[33]

Perhaps the big wholesale drug houses like Spurlock-Neal and Company of Nashville were the worst offenders. They distributed all the patent medicines on the market, plus morphine, laudanum and opium. Merchants stocked opiates from this house, and store ledgers are cluttered with entries of the indiscriminate purchase of these poisons. Gum opium sold in 1882 at wholesale for $4.35 a pound, and morphine was quoted at $3.85.[34] The big

[32]Gilbert Govan to author, October 2, 1942. For a reasonably full sketch of Adolph Simon Ochs, see "Memoir by Adolph Ochs, March 12, 1858-April 8, 1935," *Directory of American Biology,* XX (New York, 1936) pp. xvii-xxi.

[33]A general letter to storekeepers from Dr. H. B. F. Pitt, September 17, 1901, Williams MS.

[34]Price quotation on opium is from Spurlock-Neal price lists, and from that of William Litterer and Company, Nashville, September 13, 1882.

drug house was an outlet for all the quacks in the country, and they kept the store shelves loaded in the regions where trained medical services were unobtainable. Even that famous old preventative of all things physically and amatorialy evil, asafoetida, was given listing among the gum medicines.

Not only was Tennessee an excellent region in which to sell patent medicines, but it was equally as good a place where fradulent compounders could find exciting testimonials. The rural Tennesseans found writing medicine testimonials a means of self expression, and they were diligent in this kind of literary activity. Scarcely an almanac, a handbill or poster was printed which did not contain a letter from a Tennessean telling how he had short-circuited the Grim Reaper with three to four bottles of some famous alcohol-laden tonic, of how he had cured cancer with an ointment which contained enough carbolic acid to sear any kind of an ulcer.[35]

There was one respect in which the Tennessee country store differed radically from those of the other southern states, and that was in the purchase of farm products. It was said of the merchants of the Lower South that they preferred that their customers not produce anything that could be eaten for fear that they would reduce their trade at the stores. This was not true of the merchants in eastern and central Tennessee. Here the storekeepers depended upon their customers selling eggs, bacon, jowls, hams, shoulders, linsey, chickens, butter, goobers, hides, field peas, feathers, wool, tallow, corn, wheat, and every other kind of produce which could be resold for a profit.[36]

In 1880 J. B. Reed and Sons at Flat Creek gave their customers credit in their ledger for most of the commodities listed above. They paid forty cents a pound for feathers, five to six cents a dozen for eggs, eight to ten cents for butter, ten cents each for chickens,

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[35]Jno. Owens, Fuga, Tennessee, wrote: "H. L. Brown is cured of stomach troubles and others are benefitted by using *Grayheard,* Outlook for Graybeard is promising." Another customer wrote: "Resper's Graybeard cured me of cancer on my lip. It is a great medicine."

[36]The produce trade was heavy, and records of this appeared in the journals as "credit entries" to individual accounts. On December 21, 1871, John W. Faris bought supplies to the amount of $26.32 at the Williams store in Eagleville, and paid for them with corn delivered in Murfreesboro. Williams' Journal, p. 466. Literally hundreds of accounts contain credit entries for country produce. Invoice books from many stores in the Lower South contain bills for "Tennessee bacon." Many Tennessee farmers in the middle and eastern sections of the state were in a position to earn money by supplying the southern meat trade. The highly unreliable *Ninth Census Report . . .* 1870, *compendium,* Table XCLII, p. 708, and (population), Table 1, p. 8, show that Tennessee had 1,828,690 hogs as compared with a population of 1,258,520. The *Eleventh Census Report,* 1890, *Population,* Table II, p. 316 and Vol. I, p. 10, reports 1,922,912 hogs and a total population of 1,767, 518. The ratio in most of the other southern states is well below this figure.

and thirty-two and a half cents a yard for linsey.[37]

Along the Tennessee River the produce trade flourished. A steamboat invoice book kept by M. P. Haynes and Son at Denson's Landing records the volume of this business.[38] Steamboats plying the river from Louisville, Paducah, St. Louis and Memphis made periodic visits to the store landings to collect produce taken in trade. This ranged from the heavy cotton trade at such places as Pitts' store at Cerro Gordo to that in peanuts, corn, small grains, cured meats and crossties at the down-river landings.

An astounding amount of country produce found its way on board the Tennessee River packets. The invoice records referred to above list wool, may-apple roots, eggs, peanuts, hides, tallow, poultry, meat and livestock. From 1909 to 1914 thousands of sacks of peanuts were shipped to St. Louis, Evansville and Nashville. Farmers in the sandy bottoms adjacent to the river found peanut growing for the midwestern edible-nut market a profitable undertaking. Even before the Virginia and Georgia growers had highly commercialized their industry, Tennesseans were old and experienced producers.[39]

The country stores along the rivers were colorful institutions. Sitting high upon the bluffs, with their landings beneath their porches, they formed a connecting link between the thriving back country of middle and eastern Tennessee and the big cities of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. A waning list of steamboats was competing with the railroads for freight. A roll call of the vessels which plied in this trade is reminiscent of another era in southern history. In the gallant phraseology of the old manifests there were the "good steamers" *City of Savannah, Shiloh, Kentucky, City of Saltillo, Clyde, City of Florence, St. Louis, Ed Myers,* and *Alabama.*[40] These steamers plied the rivers with drummers, buyers and goods on board for the landings all the way from Paducah to Knoxville. A St. Louis medicine drummer recalled an incident at a peanut landing on the river. He was working the river trade in a small two-man stern wheeler loaded with his wares. He called on a disreputable-appearing old storekeeper to sell him chill tonic. When he quoted a price on his tonic by the gross, the old man asked for fifteen gross. The drummer cut the order in half, and was then dubious of his customer's credit. The storekeeper said,

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[37]Specifically, see the credit entries in the journals of Reed Brothers, 1870-1900, and those of E. L. Williams, 1870-1900. See the entry for Nancy Taylor's account, which gave credit for 10 pounds of butter, at 16½ cents, and four dozen eggs at 15 cents. E. L. Williams, Journal, December 23, 1871, p. 470.

[38]Manifest and Invoice Book, 1909-1914 (University of Kentucky Library).

[39]*Ibid.* On March 26, 1911, the *City of Savannah* took on board 108 bags of peanuts belonging to C. E. Moore of Waverly which were shippd to St. Louis.

[40]*Ibid.*

however, that everybody in the valley had chills and he could not get enough tonic to supply the trade. When the salesman asked what credit terms he wanted, the old riverman pulled out a huge roll of bills and paid cash on the spot.[41]

Along the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, there are scores of forgotten towns where rows of old stores stand facing the river with their massive square fronts worn bare of paint by driving rains, window lights smashed in, and the medicine and tobacco advertisements rusted beyond recognition. Some of the old sites are now under water, and others are to be flooded, but here was a layer of Tennessee civilization which has been covered up by that of modern highways, industry and the shifting of population centers.

From frontier days, Tennesseans have exhibited a considerable capacity for solving their economic problems. Small manufacturing plants sprang up around Knoxville, Greeneville, Murfreesboro, Nashville and Memphis. Some of these continued in operation after the Civil War, and new ones came into existence for the purpose of manufacturing goods for the so-called country trade. At Nashville there were tailoring and textile factories, wholesale manufacturing drug houses and butchering concerns. Scattered throughout the state were other manufactories such as the Chattanooga Plow Company, The Chattanooga Stove Company, and at Cleveland, The Cleveland Woolen Mills, which manufactured both jeans cloth and jeans pants. At Marcella Falls in Lawrence County, the Marcella Falls Manufacturing Company produced jeans, linseys, stockings and yarns. This little factory grew out of the reverses of the Civil War, and a series of letters from its proprietor, A. O. Williams, to his brother traces the history of its uncertain growth. His brother, who operated the Williams Store at Eagleville, bought raw wool for him, and accepted cloth in payment. Store invoices generally indicate the extent to which jeans making was a profitable source of income for the local Tennessee mill masters.[42]

Catering to what might be called the provision trade were the flour and meal millers, and the tobacco processors. Nearly every town of any consequence had its milling company with its favorite brands of flour and meal.[43] Store bills indicate that local grain was

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[41]An interview by the author with Mr. George L. Hill, Weir, Kentucky, December 7, 1941.

[42]William MSS. collection contains a voluminous correspondence on manufacturing. Specifically see A. O. Williams to E. L. Williams, June 10, 1882.

[43]Some of these were the Maury Milling Company, Carter's Creek; Union Mills, Nashville; Buck's Milling Company, Columbia; Depot Mills, Columbia; and W. Ransom, Winchester. Some of the trials of local manufacturing are set forth in this letter from W. Ransom to E. L. Williams, September 10, 1882:

"Mr C Williams Sir I rite to you to day to let you now that the small pox has bin stop her it look like it wold take the town her at one time but ther has not bin

used for processing, and in this significant respect most of the Tennessee country-store trade differed from that of the Lower South. Not only did the stores sell home manufactured products, but they took grain in exchange for merchandise. Most of Tennessee had its ills arising from an unbalanced agrarian economy, but seldom were these of the same character as those of her neighboring cotton states. Newspapers editors in the greater portion of the state scarcely had the same excuse for writing one furious column after another attacking their readers for their failure to live at home. In 1889 Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia produced 208,591, 16,570, and 1,096,312 bushels of wheat, respectively, while Tennessee grew 8,300,789 bushels, and for the other grains the same disparity holds true.[44]

There were other commodities manufactured in the local villages of Tennessee which found a ready market in the stores. At a time when the Greens, Dukes, Reynolds, and other North Carolinians and Virginians were out to capture the national tobacco market, Tennesseans were working, but with less imagination, to achieve the same goal. Tobacco factories were almost as numerous as were textile and grain mills. Frequent entries in country-store books are for licorice and sugar which were to be used in the manufacture of chewing tobacco. Characteristic of this trade was an entry in the account of Coomer and Smotherman of Eagleville in 1871 for two cases of licorice to be used in flavoring tobacco, and later credit was given in their account for sixty-one and a half caddies of chewing tobacco. Their rival manufacturers, U. J. Owen, prepared a fancy list of plugs, including such brands as U Jo's 5c Pocket Piece, Peach and Honey, Old Time, Heel Tap, the Owen Tennessee Twist, Half Bushel and Select Brazil Smoking. There were other little factories turning out myriad brands with catchy names. Like all southerners, the Tennessee countrymen had to have their "chewing" and smoking tobacco, and its sale was one

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a new case in ten days ther or about 6 cases out one mile from town in the peet house all up but one & she come her from Chattanooga & broke out in two days after she got her we apprehend no more truble her now I think ther is more danger of taking it on the R road & about depots than in the towns it has plaid fag with our trade & schools the fackrey hands left & it has not run in two weeks the man that took an intrust with Mrs Griffin has poold out & I went down & found that your wool had not bin opind & I took it in my possession and hold it yet for you not nowing how they might come out but Mrs Griffin & her son will start up I think in for or five days if the small pox dont break out again the small pox broke out amounts the negroes right a round the frackry and they see no chance to run so if you were to come the is very little stock to pick from I will see that you get good for your wool & notyfy you when it gets running & make enything they can make you may nead we are all well

Yours

W Ransom"

[44]Charles Otken, *The Ills of the South or Related Causes Hostile to the General Prosperity of the Southern People* (New York, 1894), p. 100.

of the stable sources of income for the stores.[45]

Because of the existence of the local factories, the Tennessee country merchant, except in the western part of the state, did not send as much money away from the region as did the storekeepers farther south. Nor did they have the same stifling influence of clamping down a one-crop system on the people. The commodity trade which went on in most of the state had the very wholesome influence of producing a certain amount of cash throughout the year. There was little necessity for the exercise of the ruinous credit system with its accompanying lien laws and anaconda mortgages which wrecked much of the cotton belt. Country merchandising generally was confined to short-time credit accounts, and the family purchases were more representative of a better standard of living than was that of the average customer in the lower cotton belt.

In a final analysis it may be asked what part did the Tennessee country merchant play in the social and economic life of the state after the Civil War? His store site sometimes became either a town, or an important crossroad. He catered to the tastes of all of his customers, and seldom did he, or the manufacturers and wholesalers from whom he bought his goods, progress in their methods faster than did the demands of their customers. The rural trade was supplied with goods which were traditional to the Tennessee taste. Linsey or jeans pants prevailed until the turn of the century, and orders for black powder, shot and percussion caps show that the muzzle-loading gun was popular. They continued to be listed in wholesale hardware catalogs as standard stock until after 1905.[46] Plow tools of ancient designs can still be had in the country stores, and improvement of agricultural methods has yet to take place in many Tennessee communities. Still the horse collar and rolls of trace chains and bundles of web backbands hang down from the ceilings of the stores. The one-horse wooden plowstock, the horse-drawn molasses mill with the bold Chattanooga Plow Company's name on its housing, the hand corn planter, and the old fashioned scovill hoes are still carried in stock. In fact, the character of farming throughout the state can yet be determined by the type of plow tools carried in stock by the Belknap Hardware Company of Louisville, Orgill Brothers in Memphis, and the Chattanooga Plow Com-

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[45]Among the Tennessee tobacco manufacturers there were U. J. Owen, Eagleville; J. W. Cortlett, Reed's Store; Williams and Hudson, Paris; R. D. Caldwell, near Paris; and Fite and James, Nashville. There were many others, but these are the ones which appear most often in the invoices. For the tobacco accounts of Coomer and Smotherman of Eagleville, see E. L. Williams, Journal, 1871, pp. "P," 8, 15, 49, 67, 93, 470.

[46]Characteristic entry for shot and powder is the following: "1 pr. shoes $3.00, 1 Hat 150, ½c powder .25, 2c squirrel shot 30, 1 box musket caps 20." E. L. Williams, Journal, January 28, 1871, p. 3.

pany. There is no doubt but that this practice of carrying outmoded tools in stock has tended as much as any one thing to harden the frontier tradition in Tennessee, and in many isolated sections it has made change extremely difficult.

Country merchants and their stores have served as centralizing influences for their communities, and in this way they have tended to organize and promote community institutions which otherwise might not have been able to survive. Certainly the stores were supply centers for their communities, and books kept by merchants reflect a more intimate picture of rural life in the post-Civil War period than any other single organized set of records. Where merchants have preserved files of business papers, the historian will find highly significant materials which often take him far beyond the store's actual trading area in revealing the history of the South. These records go begging for someone to collect and preserve them, and until this is done a great volume of source materials relating to the down-to-earth history of Tennessee's country people is threatened with wanton destruction. The country store in Tennessee faces an uncertain future of change. Perhaps its disappearance is not nearly so imminent as that ancient retired storekeeper of Williamson County makes it seem. Sitting in his corn crib on the bank of the Harpeth River shucking corn for an impatient drove of fattening hogs, he philosophized on the bygone days. He said, "I told a Dun and Bradstreet man the other day that three things in this country are gone: the country store, the old time drummer and the United States government."

BLOUNT COLLEGE AND EAST TENNESSEE COLLEGE, 1794-1840: THE FIRST PREDECESSORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

By Stanley J. Folmsbee*

BLOUNT COLLEGE (1794-1808)

The spirit of any living institution is in large measure the result of the accumulated experiences of its past history. As a product of a frontier environment, the University of Tennessee has a heritage of a background of experiences, some notable and inspiring, others trying and disheartening, extending over a period of one hundred and fifty years. The circumstances surrounding its birth were rather unique. Its birthplace, Knoxville, was then but a little village of not more than a few hundred inhabitants. The first predecessor of the University of Tennessee, Blount College, came into existence only eight years after the first permanent settlement at Knoxville, and only three years after this settlement became established as a town. Blount College was incorporated by the assembly of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio on September 10, 1794. Since this territory, familiarly known as the Southwest Territory, was not admitted to the Union as the state of Tennessee until 1796, the University is two years older than the state. It is therefore evident that the founding fathers of the Volunteer State were vitally interested in higher education. This interest is further evidenced by the fact that this same territorial assembly, in its two sessions, incorporated not merely one, but three colleges, the first three institutions of higher learning to receive charters as "colleges" in the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.[1]

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*The writer is engaged in the preparation of a history of the University of Tennessee. He would greatly appreciate it if the readers of this article would inform him of any additional materials dealing with the early history of the institution which they may have in their possession or of which they may have knowledge, in order that the information may be incorporated in the study when it appears in book form.

[1] R. S. Rankin, "The Oldest College West of the Alleghanies," in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 19. The other two were Greeneville College (now Tusculum), chartered a few days before Blount College; and Washington College (previously chartered by North Carolina as Martin Academy in 1783), incorporated in 1795. All three antedate the collegiate charter of Transylvania University in Kentucky in 1795. Modern physiographers refer to the mountainous portion of the southern Appalachian Highlands, between the Piedmont and the Virginia-Tennessee Valley, as the "Blue Ridge Province."

Ordinarily the frontier environment has not been conducive to the development of educational opportunities. Engaged in the fierce struggle for existence in the midst of the untamed wilderness, pioneers were more likely to respect brawn rather than brains, virility rather than culture. Educated men coming to live on the frontier usually found it advisable, if not necessary, to reduce their cultural standards and conceal the vintage-marks of civilization in order to appear on the level with the ignorant, uncouth frontiersman. The underrating of education and culture in American life has been one of the unfortunate by-products of the influence of the frontier on our history.

This tendency was counteracted somewhat on the Tennessee frontier by the presence of a large number of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and the influence of the ministers of this faith. There is an observable connection between the Presbyterian Church and the beginnings of higher education in Tennessee. The leaders of this church, more than those of any other denomination prevalent in the West, were interested in the maintenance of an educated ministry, and they enforced more rigidly than any others the educational qualifications for ordination. It is not surprising, therefore, that all three of the first presidents of the educational institutions mentioned above were Presbyterian ministers.[2]

Many of the Presbyterian preachers on the frontier established private schools very soon after they had established their churches. For example, Samuel Doak, the pastor of the first Presbyterian Church in the Tennessee country, established about 1780, almost immediately organized a school which was chartered by North Carolina in 1783 as Martin Academy. The Reverend Hezekiah Balch was probably teaching a private school at the time he became the founder and first president of Greeneville College. Similarly, the first president of Blount College, Rev. Samuel Czar Carrick, had combined the professions of preaching and teaching more than a year before the forerunner of the University of Tennessee received its charter from the territorial assembly.[3]

In the *Knoxville Gazette* of December 1, 1792, Samuel Carrick advertised:

A SEMINARY

Will be opened on the first day of January, at the SEAT, and under the direction of the Subscriber, near Knoxville, where will be taught, a Competent Introduction to the

LATIN AND GREEK LANGUAGES;

The advertisement went on to say that the English language, "gram-

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[2]Theron Alexander, Jr., The Covenanters Come to East Tennessee (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, August, 1939).

[3]Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee, A History* (New York, 1933), I, 362. "Czar" as

matically, applying the Rules in Reading, Parsing, Correcting and Composing," and the "Liberal ARTS and SCIENCES, viz. Geography, Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy and Rhetoric," would also be taught. The seminary was to be open two sessions each year of five months each, and the tuition was to be "seven Dollars per scholar for each session paid at entrance." This little private school at the home of Reverend Carrick may be considered the embryo out of which the present University of Tennessee was born.[4]

Although Blount College had a Presbyterian minister as its president, and only teacher, it was unique among institutions of higher learning of that day in being strictly non-sectarian in character. The charter granted by the territorial assembly specifically instructed the board of trustees to "take effectual care that students of all denominations may and shall be admitted to the equal advantages of a liberal education, and to the emoluments and honors of the College, and that they shall receive a like fair, generous and equal treatment during their residence therein."[5] The identity of the author of this non-denominational clause is unknown. The charter bill was introduced in the assembly by William Cocke, a representative from Hawkins County.[6] Possibly, if he were the author of this non-sectarian provision, he may have recalled that nearly ten years before, when he was a member of a constitutional convention of the short-lived state of Franklin, he had been called upon to consider a proposed constitution drafted by a Rev.Samuel Houston, which, though rejected, included extremely liberal religious and educational features.[7] At any rate, the charter he presented was among the first, if not the first, to provide for a strictly non-denominational college in the United States.

Included on the board of trustees of Blount College were the most distinguished citizens of the Southwest Territory. In addition to Rev. Samuel Carrick, who was designated as president, the list includes the governor of the Territory, William Blount, in whose

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a middle name appears in Carrick's signature on a marriage bond filed in Rockbridge County, Virginia, September 21, 1779. Photograph in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

[4] Reverend Carrick's home, which may be considered the first site of the University of Tennessee, was approximately where the residence of Miss Pattie Boyd now stands. According to tradition, Hugh Lawson White was one of his first pupils. Carrick later moved to the lot in Knoxville which he had purchased from James White, near where the Mercantile Building is now situated.

[5] Edward Scott, *Laws of the State of Tennessee. . .* (Knoxville, 1821), II, 504-06.

[6] *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio. . .* (Knoxville, 1794, reprinted, Nashville, 1852), 21.

[7] Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), 90-94. Actually, the constitution which was adopted, practically a copy of that of North Carolina, stipulated that "all useful learning shall be encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."

honor the college was named, the secretary, Daniel Smith, and two of the judges, Joseph Anderson and David Campbell; also John Sevier, who was to become the first governor of the state of Tennessee; two other future governors, Willie Blount and Archibald Roane; and the colleague of William Blount in the United States Senate, William Cocke. The other trustees, especially James White, the founder of Knoxville, were also outstanding figures in the town and the state.

The first and only president of Blount College, Rev. Samuel Carrick, was a native of Pennsylvania, but like many others of his nationality and faith, he moved in his youth to the Valley of Virginia. He studied for the ministry under the Rev. William Graham, who later founded Washington and Lee University, and was ordained in 1782. Five years later he visited and preached in the vicinity of Knoxville, then called White's Fort, and in 1789 or 1790 brought his young wife to the region and settled on the Holston River near the site of Boyd's Bridge, and organized the Lebanon Presbyterian Church at the forks of the Holston and French Broad rivers. After William Blount, as superintendent of Indian affairs, had extinguished the Indian title to the Knoxville region by the Treaty of Holston of July, 1791, Samuel Carrick participated in the founding of the town, being a purchaser of one of the lots disposed of by James White at his lottery of October 3, 1791. As the first preacher in Knoxville, the founder of what is now the First Presbyterian Church, he was highly respected. When the territorial assembly convened in 1794, he was called upon not merely to open the proceedings with prayer but also to address the gathering. The year before he had shown his courage by participating in the defense of Knoxville against a threatened Indian attack, leaving the burial of his wife in the hands of the women and children of the neighborhood. Such was the calibre of the man who became the first president of the institution now called the University of Tennessee.[8]

Concerning the history of Blount College we know little beyond what has been recorded for us by Moses White in his *Early History of the University of Tennessee*. According to White, a two-story framed building was erected for the College by subscription on the lot at the corner of the present Gay and Clinch streets, prob-

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[8]Moses White, *Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1879), 11-12; *Knoxville Gazette,* February 27, 1794. According to Rev. R. B. McMullen, "In person Mr. Carrick was very erect, and altogether of a fine commanding appearance. He was extremely urbane,—even courtly, in his manners. In the pulpit his manner was grave, dignified and solemn." He continued as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Knoxville until his death, and of the Lebanon congregation at the "Forks" until 1803. W. B. Sprague (ed.), *Annals of the American Pulpit,* III (New York, 1858), 435.

ably near where the Burwell Building now stands.[9] Although this first historian of the University states that the land was donated by James White, the founder of Knoxville, the deed as recorded in the Deed Records of Knox County indicates that James White sold the land to the College for the nominal sum of $30.00.[10] This deed is dated June 4, 1795. Meanwhile, the board of trustees had held its first meeting on October 18, 1794, in response to a call published by President Carrick in the *Knoxville Gazette* of October 11. Beginning on December 26 and extending through the issue for February 3, the *Gazette* published an advertisement signed by Carrick and dated December 15:

The Trustees of Blount College having directed the President to open the business of Tuition, as soon as a sufficient number of students can be engaged; those who wish to be admitted are desired to apply before Thursday the 22d of January next.

The continuance of this advertisement beyond the date the College was scheduled to open creates some doubt as to whether it was able to open at that time. Even if it did begin operations, there is evidence that the enterprise was on the verge of abandonment in 1803. That it was not abandoned was due indirectly to the activity of a man who later became president of the institution when it was known as East Tennessee College—Dr. Charles C. Coffin. In March of that year Dr. Coffin, who had recently become connected with Greeneville College, came to Knoxville on his tour soliciting subscriptions for that institution. One of the first individuals he contacted was Col. Francis A. Ramsey, one of the trustees of Blount College. Ramsey told him that he was under oath to "do all in his power to promote the interest" of Blount College, but since "he saw no prospect of its flourishing," he was disposed to contribute to Greeneville College, if he could consistently do so. He thought it best, however, to have an informal meeting of the Blount College trustees to consider the matter. This meeting was held the next day and was attended also by Dr. Coffin, who reported in his diary:

Gov. Roane spoke against abandoning and in favor of pursuing their original object. All agreed. A paper was immediately handed about by Mr. Carrick to procure subscriptions for B. C. It amounted to $1000 payable at the end of three years. Thus G. C. is cut off from any considerable assistance here.[11]

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[9] White, *op. cit.*, 9.

[10] Book C, p. 141. The University's copy of the deed is filed in the Treasurer's Office. See also Dean Newman, "Cavalcade," in *Knoxville Journal*, August 27, 1939. It is the opinion of Thomas O'C. House, Knoxville, Tennessee, whose notes on Carrick have been of considerable aid to the writer, that this $30.00 was paid largely as a "consideration" to make the title legal. In the light of contemporary land values, however, it would seem that $30.00 was a fair price for the four acres of land involved.

[11] Journal of Dr. Charles Coffin, 1800-1822, pp. 93-94, of typewritten copy. The original and the typescript are both in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

It is quite possible that it was only the added stimulus provided by the visit of Dr. Coffin which prevented the first predecessor of the University of Tennessee from dying in its infancy.

Unfortunately, no other authentic records of the first five years of the life of Blount College are available. And for the remainder of its history we are dependent mainly on quotations by Moses White from a small book, to which he had access, containing the records of Blount College from 1804 to 1809 and of East Tennessee College for the year 1809. In this little "College Book of Students and Accounts," which was covered with a sheet of wall paper, appeared

> the name of the student, then in regular succession, in separate spaces, follows the price of tuition; if paid, the amount; books borrowed or hired—credit by cash, or returned. The opposite page continues with an account of the studies of the session—examination—how approved—miscellaneous remarks.[12]

The tuition charged was $8.00 per session of five months, and board cost $25.00 per session. The students were apparently graded on their examinations by the terms, "approved," "well approved," and "very well approved." Occasionally, however, the words "mediocre" and "bene" were used. Under "Miscellaneous Remarks" such comments as "rather dissipated," and "good genius, orderly and diligent," were inscribed.

The first students listed were Clement C. Clay, William Carter, Thomas Cocke, Lemuel P. Montgomery, and William E. Parker, probably the attendants during the year 1804. Also included in the list of students at Blount College somewhere during the period from 1804 to 1808 were several girls, the first enrolled being Polly McClung, Barbara Blount, Jenny Armstrong, Mattie Kain and Kitty Kain. Thus it appears that Blount College was the first college in the United States to adopt a co-educational policy. Quite fittingly, the University of Tennessee now has five girls' dormitories to which the names of these first "co-eds" have been assigned. The origin of this unique co-educational policy is unknown. Possibly the inclusion of the name Barbara Blount may be the key. The influence of the former territorial governor and United States senator had been very strong at the institution named in his honor. As there was no "female academy" near by, the family of the late governor, who had died in 1800, may have desired to have his orphaned daughter, Barbara, attend the only school available in Knoxville. She was only twelve years old in 1804 and it is probable, therefore,

[12] White, *op. cit.*, 13. What became of this record book, after Moses White had made use of it, is unknown.

that she and the other girls received preparatory rather than collegiate training.

The only student known to have graduated from Blount College during the period of its existence was William E. Parker. President Carrick's entry concerning this graduation is quoted by Moses White, and it also provides us with the only information available concerning the curriculum of the College. Naturally, the course of studies was predominantly classical, as was the case with all institutions of higher learning of that time. The entry is as follows:

Wm. E. Parker was examined on Virgil and Rhet., Horace and Logic, Geog. 7, Gr. Test., Lucien, Math's Ethics, Nat'l Phil'y and A. Hor., 7, at dif't ex's and approved, graduated on the 18th day of Oct., 1806

S. C.
Nov. 25th, 1806.

Although Parker was unquestionably the first student who graduated at the institution now called the University of Tennessee, we know practically nothing about his later career.[13]

The public exhibitions of the students at Blount College, and probably also the commencement exercises, were held in an unenclosed space adjoining the Knoxville barracks. After opening the proceedings with prayer, the "Reverend President" introduced the student orators, whose demonstrations were interspersed and "enlivened" in a rather novel way with "bursts of martial music and the firing of cannon." [14]

EAST TENNESSEE COLLEGE (1807-1840)

Blount College was dependent financially on tuition fees paid by its students, who were almost exclusively the sons and daughters of the wealthy people of the community. The transformation of the institution into "East Tennessee College" came as the result of its receiving a grant of public land from the state of Tennessee, provided for in an act of the United States Congress passed in 1806. The story of the relationship of this governmental subsidy to the history of East Tennessee College has been told in such detail by Edward T. Sanford in his centennial address[15] of 1894 that only the more salient facts need be presented here.

For some time after Tennessee was admitted to the Union in 1796 she was involved in a triangular dispute with the United States and North Carolina over title to land within its borders.

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[13] *Ibid.*, 15. Parker, however, was not "the first student who graduated at a College in Tennessee," as is admitted by White in a correction of his original statement (page 15) by a footnote on page 51. Washington College had granted the A. B. degree as early as 1796.

[14] *Ibid.*, 12-13, citing an address delivered by Rev. Thomas W. Humes in 1842.

[15] E. T. Sanford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1894).

This dispute was finally adjusted by the Compact of 1806, in accordance with which the United States relinquished to Tennessee all claims to land in the state lying outside a "Congressional Reservation" comprising all of West Tennessee and the southwestern corner of Middle Tennessee. In exchange Tennessee was required to satisfy the claims of all holders of North Carolina civil and military land warrants, and also to set aside within the region south of the French Broad River and east of the Tennessee (where North Carolina warrants were not applicable) two tracts of land of 100,000 acres each for the support, respectively, of colleges and academies. The academy lands were to finance the establishment of an academy in each county of the state, and the college tract was to be used to support two colleges, one in East Tennessee and the other in Middle Tennessee.

In expressing his satisfaction with this arrangement, Governor Sevier informed the legislature that "Very liberal and ample donations are now procured for the establishment and support of several of the most ornamental and instructive seminaries of learning." He was also of the opinion that the lands relinquished to Tennessee would "facilitate all the desirable and beneficial improvements calculated for the happiness and prosperity of the most opulent and long established republics. No additional burthens of taxation need ever be required or imposed on our fellow-citizens." [16] He was much too optimistic, however, in his belief. The North Carolina warrants turned out to be so numerous that their holders eventually, with the aid of an amendment to the Compact, acquired possession of practically all of the arable land in the state outside of the region south of the French Broad River which had been reserved by North Carolina for the Cherokee Indians. For many years much of this "Cherokee Reservation" was still occupied by the Cherokee, and the only portions that had been relinquished by them at the time of the Compact had long been settled by "squatters" who had moved into that area during the state of Franklin period. The two 100,000 acre tracts set aside by legislative action in 1806 for the support of colleges and academies, in Blount and Sevier counties, respectively, therefore included very little land that was not already occupied by squatters—a fact that was soon to cause serious complications.

In 1806 the legislature also selected the beneficiary of the Middle Tennessee portion of the college grant. Davidson Academy, located at Nashville, was re-incorporated as Cumberland College and designated as the recipient of this subsidy. Some difficulty developed in selecting the institution to benefit from East Tennessee's share of the college lands. All three of the colleges already estab-

[16] Quoted in Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 257-58.

lished in this section, Blount, Greeneville, and Washington, presented their claims. The citizens of Blount County recommended that an entirely new institution be created to be located "in Maryville or nearby." Hawkins County was equally insistent that Rogersville was "the most eligible site" for a college. It was not until October, 1807 that the legislature accepted the proposal submitted by the Blount College trustees, influenced probably by their argument that the college should be located near "some considerable commercial town, where it can never fail to experience the patronage and protection of men of literature in all parts of the United States."[17] The act provided that the funds and property of Blount College should be transferred to a new institution to be called "East Tennessee College," which was also to be endowed with East Tennessee's share of the college land grant. The college was to be located " on ten acres of land, within two miles of Knoxville, conveyed in trust, for the use of said college, by Moses White, at a place called Rocky or Poplar Spring."[18]

The new group of thirty trustees, including only John Sevier and Archibald Roane of the original board, met in 1808 and decided to retain Rev. Samuel Carrick as president at a salary of $450 per year. He was authorized to carry on under the Blount College regulations and at the same place until the next meeting of the board. If the number of students should make it necessary, he was allowed to employ an "Assistant Tutor." [19] Apparently the institution continued to operate as Blount College until the end of the year and did not officially open as East Tennessee College until the beginning of 1809. Under its new name the institution did not include any women students. During the year 1809 the College received a severe blow in the death of its president, who passed away on August 17. No immediate steps were taken by the trustees to replace Reverend Carrick and it seems evident that the College suspended operations until about 1820. There is a gap in the minutes of the board of trustees from April 11, 1809 to October 5, 1820. The chief reason for this suspension, other than the death of President Carrick, was a lack of funds. According to White, a balance of $87.82 still due on the President's salary was not paid until October 23, 1820.[20]

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[17] Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 363.

[18] Scott, *op. cit.*, II, 1047-50. The University's copy of the deed transferring the property of Blount College to East Tennessee College is filed in the Treasurer's Office.

[19] Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of East Tennessee College (in the President's Office, University of Tennessee), April 7, 1808. Hereafter cited as Minutes.

[20] White, *op. cit.*, 16-17. According to the minutes of the board, however, it was ordered on April 5, 1821 that $146 be paid to the estate of Reverend Carrick. This amount includes the accrued interest.

The rosy expectations which followed the making of the Compact of 1806, setting aside 100,000 acres of land for the support of two colleges in Tennessee, failed to materialize. As indicated above, the land selected was already occupied by "squatters." This fact in itself automatically cut in half the anticipated subsidy. According to the Compact, Tennessee was not allowed to sell land at less than the minimum national price, which at that time was two dollars an acre, except that squatters in the region south of the French Broad were guaranteed preemption rights at one dollar an acre. Thus for the college lands already occupied, instead of a minimum of two dollars an acre, only a maximum of one dollar per acre could be expected. Actually, however, this reduced expectation was over-optimistic. The squatters were unable or unwilling, or both, to pay even a dollar an acre for their lands. Having moved in under the authority of treaties negotiated by the state of Franklin with the Cherokee Indians, which were later repudiated, and having carved their homes out of the Indian wilderness in the midst of grave danger and hardship, they believed they should not be required to pay anything for their lands. Their services in building up the country, they insisted, should be considered more than adequate payment; and to see their hard-earned money go to pay for the teaching of Greek and Latin to rich men's sons was particularly galling to them. Since they constituted a large part of the voting population of that area, it was politically impracticable for the legislature to insist on the collection of the dollar an acre due.

Almost immediately the legislature began to compromise. The squatters were allowed to pay for their lands on the installment plan. In 1807 the payment of the first installment was postponed until 1809; in 1809 it was postponed until 1811; and in 1811 it was postponed indefinitely. Meanwhile, interest at six per cent was being charged on the postponed installments; but the legislature neglected to appoint anyone to receive the interest payments, and so the interest for two years was cancelled. Thereafter, the payment of the interest was regularly postponed, as was already the case with the principal. Finally, in 1823 the legislature made its first real effort to collect some money from the squatters.[21] It remitted one third of the amount of principal and interest still due and provided that the remaining two thirds should be paid in seven annual installments, bearing interest at six per cent. Moreover, it vested in

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[21] Two years earlier East Tennessee College had petitioned for a relocation of the college lands to the Hiwassee district, south of the Little Tennessee River, which had been acquired from the Indians in 1819. An undated preliminary draft of this memorial is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. It was probably prepared by the committe authorized in the Minutes, April 5, 1821, composed of Pres. D. A. Sherman, Edward Scott, Matthew Nelson, and William C. Mynatt.

the colleges and academies these unpaid sums, and authorized the sale of any lands on which the future installments were not paid. It was the intention of the assembly, the act stated, "to put it out of the power of the Legislature to interfere hereafter by indulging the debtors."

To recompense the colleges and academies for the delay in receiving their funds, the act also directed that all receipts from the sale of unoccupied lands in the district south of the French Broad River, outside as well as inside the college and academy tracts, should be turned over to the colleges and academies. No provision had been made for the sale of land not occupied by squatters in this district, even within the college and academy tracts, until 1819. In that year it had been provided that this land should be offered for sale at a price of fifty cents an acre, subject to the consent of Congress. This consent was not obtained until 1823, when Congress repealed the clause in the Compact of 1806 placing restrictions on the price at which Tennessee was allowed to sell land. Thus, although the colleges and academies obtained access to the proceeds from the sale of some land outside the 100,000 acre tracts, this was counterbalanced by a further reduction in price below the original two dollars an acre expectation.[22]

Although the legislation of 1823 was supposed to have been a final solution of the controversy between the squatters and the colleges and academies, this did not turn out to be the case. The squatters protested vigorously against the law and many refused to pay the installments when due. Consequently, their holdings were offered for sale through the process of foreclosure. So bitter did the squatters' resentment become that the legislature finally decided not to go through with the program. The trustees of East Tennessee College were also disgusted with the situation. In 1825 they proposed in a memorial to the general assembly that the colleges and academies be allowed to transfer to the state their land claims under the Compact of 1806 and receive an equivalent from the public funds in the New State Bank.[23] Instead of accepting this proposal, the legislature in 1829 offered the colleges and academies a half township of land each in the region south of the Hiwassee River, to which the Indian title had not yet been extinguished, in exchange

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[22] Sanford (*op. cit.*, 50) says that later in the same year (1823) the legislature further reduced the price of unappropriated land in the French Broad district to 12½ cents an acre; but, in the opinion of the writer, this reduction applied only to land "north of the Tennessee River." *Acts of Tennessee*, 1823, pp. 58-66.

[23] Minutes, August 22, 1825. A printed copy of this memorial is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville. In a memorial of 1827 the trustees insisted that the state was still obligated under the Compact of 1806 to provide the institution with the equivalent of 50,000 acres of land at $2.00 an acre. Minutes, October 19, 1827.

for their relinquishing all their remaining claims to land in the French Broad district. Reluctantly, East Tennessee College accepted this proposition,[24] but the Middle Tennessee institution refused and the situation remained complicated until 1838, when the Cherokee Indians were finally removed to the West. In the meantime, the East Tennessee College trustees had unsuccessfully petitioned the United States Congress for a grant of public lands.[25] In August, 1837, when it had become evident that the Cherokee Indians were about to be expelled by force from the lands they still occupied in Tennessee, the trustees drafted another memorial to the Tennessee legislature re-expressing their willingness to accept the proposition made in 1829. One of the trustees, Frederick S. Heiskell, was instructed to present the memorial in person. His mission was successful and in 1838 the proposal of 1829 was re-enacted and was accepted by all parties concerned. Thus East Tennessee College came into possession of some squatter-free land in the Ocoee district south of the Hiwassee River which it was able to dispose of during the next year for a little less than $34,400.

Several years earlier, in 1822, East Tennessee College had participated, along with Cumberland College and the University of North Carolina, in another land donation resulting from an agreement between the Tennessee legislature and the University of North Carolina. After the Compact of 1806 had guaranteed the rights of the veterans of North Carolina's Revolutionary army or their heirs to the lands in Tennessee to which they were entitled under North Carolina's laws providing for bounties to soldiers, the government of North Carolina assigned to the State University all military warrants belonging to soldiers who died intestate. The Tennessee land office was already overworked issuing grants on the basis of the warrants presented by the soldiers or their heirs, and when the University's warrants were presented Tennessee was about ready to call a halt. The validity of its warrants being questioned, the University of North Carolina found it necessary to work out a compromise with the legislature of Tennessee, the terms of which were arranged behind the scenes by two commissioners from the University and one member of the legislature, Felix Grundy. The legislature delegated the authority to make a binding settlement to

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[24] In accepting this arrangement the trustees stated specifically that it should not be construed as releasing the state "from its obligation to pay this institution the balance of its proportion of the congressional donation." Sanford, *op. cit.*, 58n.; Minutes, April 10, 1830. At the time of actually receiving the land, however, the trustees agreed that it was "in full satisfaction of all claim they have against the State of Tennessee" and the citizens residing south of the French Broad. Minutes, July 18, 1838.

[25] Minutes, April 23, 1836. Cumberland College had made a similar petition two years before. Sanford, *op. cit.*, 59.

two prominent Tennessee lawyers who were already apprised of the secret understanding. By the terms of the settlement thus made Tennessee agreed to validate the warrants and to exempt the lands from taxation until 1850, and in exchange the University of North Carolina transferred land warrants for 40,000 acres to Cumberland College and 20,000 acres to East Tennessee College.[26] In the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of East Tennessee College, November 1, 1822, there is a letter from James Trimble, one of the two lawyers who negotiated the arrangement, explaining the unequal apportionment of the land between the East Tennessee and Middle Tennessee institutions. The division, he said, was in accord with the relative populations and representation in Congress and the legislature of these two sections of the state.

Three years later, in 1825, a somewhat different arrangement was made concerning some warrants subsequently acquired by the University of North Carolina. The lands involved were sold directly by the state of Tennessee, in 1826, and the proceeds divided among the three colleges, the Tennessee academies, and the common school fund. According to Sanford, East Tennessee College received from this apportionment about $5000, and from the sales, covering a period from 1832 to 1859, of the 20,000 acres acquired under the 1822 compact, a little more than 19,000.[27] Therefore, including the proceeds from the sales of land in the Ocoee district, Sanford claims the College realized from these several subsidies not more than $60,000. Assuming that the $100,000 anticipated as the value of East Tennessee College's share of the donation of 1806 would have increased, by adding interest at six per cent, to about $300,000 by 1838, Sanford concludes that the $60,000 actually realized constituted about one fifth of the amount promised in 1806. He omits from his estimate, however, the amount actually received from the squatters on the college lands south of the French Broad River, claiming (page 61n) that no authentic records of these payments "can now be found." A special committee of the board of trustees reported, however, on October

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[26] Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 364-67. A preliminary draft of an agreement between the University of North Carolina and East Tennessee College regarding the division of these land warrants, dated August 26, 1822, is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

[27] Sanford, *op. cit.*, notes 83 and 84. In the Tennessee Room of the Library of the University of Tennessee there are several manuscript letters from John C. McLemore, regarding his work as agent of East Tennessee College in locating its lands acquired under the 1822 arrangement. He expressed the opinion that the College would realize much more from these lands if they were held for some time rather than sold immediately. In the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, therr is a power of attorney from East Tennessee College to W. B. A. Ramsey, dated April 12, 1828, authorizing him to sell this West Tennessee land. A small portion of the land was not sold until after the Civil War.

18, 1826, that approximately $40,000 of the total of $50,000 was still due from those settlers. According to an act of 1813, this money was required to be invested in the stock of the Old State Bank, and this same report lists among the assets of the institution $13,950 in Old State Bank stock, which probably represents the total, including interest on their installments, received from the squatters up to that time. Thus it may be concluded that East Tennessee College eventually obtained nearer one fourth than the Sanford estimate of one fifth of the amount promised in the Compact of 1806.

Returning to the history of the College, it will be recalled that it suspended operation in 1809 following the death of President Carrick. The same year, in view of the disappointment regarding the land donation of 1806, the trustees authorized the use of two other methods to raise money for the institution. The first, attempted prior to Carrick's death, was to authorize the President to solicit donations. The other method, approved by the legislature in the fall of 1809, was the recourse to a lottery.[28] Beginning in January, 1810, the trustees offered for sale eleven thousand lottery tickets at five dollars each, and promised at the drawings to award 3405 prizes ranging from $6.00 to $5000, and totaling $55,000, which was the whole amount expected from the sale of the tickets. From each prize, however, fifteen per cent was to be deducted for the College, which would enable the institution to realize, less expenses, $8250 from the lottery. Although it was quite customary during the early period of American history to use lotteries to raise money for public or quasi-public purposes, this lottery, it appears, was a complete failure. In September, 1812 it was announced in the press that only $450 had been received from the sale of tickets, and that many tickets were being presented for which no money had been received from the agents who had sold them. Among the individuals solicited to sell tickets were President James Madison and ex-President Thomas Jefferson. The latter replied that he had "made it a rule never to engage in a lottery or any other adventure of mere chance."[29] Why the lottery failed is uncertain. Probably the amount involved was too large for such a frontier region; and

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[28] Minutes, April 11, 1809. The trustees authorized by the enabling act to hold the lottery were Hu (Hugh) L. White, Thomas McCorry, James Campbell, Robert Craighead, and John H. Gamble.

[29] That Jefferson did not remain true to these pious objections is indicated by the fact that in 1826 he petitioned for the right to dispose of his own property by lottery for the benefit of his creditors. In his reply to the trustees, he gave first expression to his ideas concerning a logical plan for a college which he later put in application at the University of Virginia. The original of this letter is in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee. See Stanley F. Horn, "Holdings of the Tennessee Historical Society," *Tnnnessee Historical Quarterly*, III (September, 1944), 273-74.

popular antagonism toward "seminaries of learning for great men's sons" may have had considerable influence.[30]

For several years after the failure of the lottery, East Tennessee College remained in a completely moribund state.[31] Not until 1820 was it able to re-open its doors, and then only as the result of a temporary consolidation with Hampden-Sidney Academy, which had been organized in Knoxville several years before as one of the academies to be subsidized under the provisions of the Compact of 1806. When this aid failed to materialize, the academy had resorted to "begging" and had raised sufficient funds by subscription to enable it to begin operations in 1817. The consolidation with Blount College made available a suitable building, and Rev. David A. Sherman, principal of Hampden-Sidney Academy, was retained as head of the combined institutions at a salary of $900 per year. He was assisted by Daniel E. Watrous and James McBath, and according to White, also by David S. Hart, who was the first graduate of East Tennessee College, graduating in 1821.[32] Several references in the minutes of the board of trustees to James McBath reveal a remarkable rate of advancement. On April 3, 1823 he was authorized to be paid $150 for teaching in the academy during the preceding session and appointed "Tutor" for the next session at a salary of $250. On October 2 of the same year he was granted the degree of bachelor of arts and eleven days later he was elected to succeed Mr. Watrous as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, at the same salary, however, of $250 per session. This amount was increased on April 1, 1824 to $300 and was raised again to $400 per session on October 8 of the same year. On the last date mentioned the salary of the president was raised to $600 per session. Apparently the financial condition of East Tennessee College was gradually improving.

President Sherman was a New Englander and a Yale graduate. According to one of his students, Albert Miller Lea, who was later a professor of mathematics at East Tennessee University, he was a hard worker and a rigid disciplinarian. "We had to work then," said Lea, "else we fell under his rule, and a rigid one it was, about two feet long, and an inch square, roughened toward the outer end, so that it might take the better hold upon the hand." [33]

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[30] P. M. Hamer, "The East Tennessee College Lottery," in *The Tennessee Alumnus*, IX, No. 1, January, 1925.

[31] Even before the lottery had been attempted, the Blount College building apparently had been diverted to other uses. In *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, November 4, 1809, there was published an advertisement by J. N. Smith, announcing the opening of a new school at "the Old College, where Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar, will be taught at eight dollars per year."

[32] White, *op. cit.*, 21-22; Minutes, October 5, 9, 1820, April 5, 1821.

[32] White ,*op. cit.*, 21-22; Minutes, October 5, 9, 1820, April 5, 1821.

Early in Sherman's administration the board drafted and had printed a detailed set of "Laws of East Tennessee College" including chapters on the government of the College, requirements for admission, religious order and worship, the course of "Academic Literature," vacations and absences, college "damages and assessments of them," crimes and misdemeanors, academic degrees, and college dues. The section dealing with crimes and misdemeanors was soon interpreted in an amendment as allowing corporal punishment. The requirement for the bachelor of arts degree was "approved examinations on all branches of study pursued in the College." Any student who did not wish to "pursue all branches" was to receive upon leaving "a certificate or Diploma stating the branches pursued and proficiency in them." At about the same time the secretary of the board was instructed to procure a suitable seal for the institution.[34]

In the memorial of 1821 (see note 21 above) it was reported that nineteen or twenty students were enrolled during the first year after the re-opening of East Tennessee College, and thirty in 1821. About $990 had been received as interest on the proceeds from the sale of the college lands, which had been invested as required by an act of 1813 in stock of the Old State Bank. Of this amount $146 had been paid to the estate of President Carrick, $130 for the repair of the Blount College building, and $160 as part payment of the salaries of Sherman and Watrous. In addition to asking for a re-location to squatter-free land of the Compact of 1806 endowment, this memorial requested permission to use the remainder of the $990 in the erection of a new building. The trustees also petitioned for an amendment to the charter which would allow them to erect this new building at a more convenient location than the Rocky or Poplar Spring site prescribed in the charter of 1807. That location, approximately in the neighborhood of the present Austin High School, was criticised in the memorial as being

> about a mile from the town of Knoxville in the woods, and entirely apart from any building which may serve for the accommodation of the students. As the trustees, for want of funds, cannot erect a Boarding House, the officers and students would be compelled, in all weather, to travel twice or three times every day from their residence in the town, merely for the purpose of reciting in the college.

[34] Minutes, October 11, 20, 1821, April 6, 1822. The course of study was left largely to the determination of the faculty, who were required to "instruct undergraduate students in the three learned languages, the liberal arts and whole of academic literature." For the master of arts degree, which was largely honorary, the only requirements appear to have been "a good moral character," and the expressed desire for the degree. and "four dollars." These "Laws" have been printed, under the editorship of the writer in "The Laws of East Tennessee College, 1821," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 16 (1944). Included are most of the amendments adopted prior to 1838 and the course of study of 1839. On the committee which drafted the laws were President Sherman, John Williams, and William Park. Minutes, October 5, 1821.

President Sherman resigned in 1825 because of ill health, but the combined institutions continued to operate for another year in charge of Professor James McBath as president pro tem.[35] By that time, however, the receipt of some funds from the several land subsidies enabled East Tennessee College to resume independent operation. On October 7, 1826, the trustees dissolved the union with Hampden-Sidney Academy, and ten davs later they received the report of a committee previously appointed to select a president and to consider the advisability of acquiring a new site[36] and constructing new buildings for East Tennessee College. This committee, composed of Pryor Lea, W. C. Mynatt, and James King, explained that they had been "much embarrassed" in attempting the first part of their task. It "could not be expected that any gentleman of pre-eminent attainments as a teacher could be procured from a distance" while the fortunes of the institution "with respect to funds and buildings . . . remain so gloomy as they have been heretofore." They itemized the funds available, amounting to about $33,460, and expressed the hope, which turned out to be illusory, that the legislature would make immediately available the $40,000 still due from the squatters' lands south of the French Broad River by adopting the transfer arrangement proposed the year before. They also recommended as a new location for the College "the Hill west of Knoxville and south of the residence of Mr. Charles McClung, Junior." This hill, forty acres in extent and including "two or three excellent springs," could be purchased for $600. The attractiveness of this site was enthusiastically depicted in these words:

> the shape of the Hill, the commanding view from it and to it in every direction, the excellence of the water, its distance from the town, being near and yet secluded, its position between the river and main western road, from each of which it would be in full view for a considerable distance, to give publicity and to facilitate intercourse, together with its unquestionable healthfulness, render it a scite [*sic*] as eligible, almost, as the imagination can conceive.[37]

In accordance with these recommendations, the trustees acquired the present site of the main campus of the University of

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[35] Minutes, April 7, 1826. Sherman's departure apparently deprived the College of most of its library, for the trustees immediately arranged to purchase his books for $161.63. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1826. Samuel Rodgers was employed for a time as "sub-teacher." *Ibid.*, May 6, 1826.

[36] In response to a second memorial (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library), the legisature had authorized in 1822 the selection of a more suitable location than the Poplar Spring site specified in the charter of 1807. *Acts of Tennessee*, 1822, chapter 122. Nevertheless, in 1825 the trustees had expended $715 in fencing and improving the lot on which the old Blount College building was situated. See letter from James Park, April 7, 1825, presenting his bill for that amount (also in the McClung Collection).

[37] Minutes, October 18, 1826. This site soon became known as "Barbara Hill" in honor of Barbara Blount.

Tennessee from Pleasant M. Miller and, according to White, "proceeded to erect the center College building and three one-story dormitories, back of the College, and so arranged, east, west and south, as to make a square of the campus, leaving pass-ways at the end of each building."[38] It appears, however, that only the main building was constructed at that time. It was not until 1835 that the three dormitories and a steward's house were actually built.[39]

Soon after these improvements had been authorized, the trustees turned their attention again to selecting a president for the College. On October 31, 1826 they instructed Pryor Lea, secretary of the board, to correspond with Rev. Charles Coffin, M. D., D. D., president of Greeneville College, and a graduate of Harvard. He was to offer Dr. Coffin the presidency of East Tennessee College and at the same time propose a union of this institution with Greeneville College. In a letter[40] to Pryor Lea, dated November 3, 1826, Dr. Coffin replied to this "two-fold proposition":

> If on the maturest reflection, I should think it the fair and honest dictate of duty, that I should transfer my labour to your seminary, both you and the Trustees cannot fail to perceive, that I would feel it important, equally with yourselves, to bring with me as far as possible, all the means of usefulness, which have been at my command. If the two colleges lawfully may and ought to be united, the resources of each, unless reasons of particular justice forbid, ought, also, to be united; for the general object of both institutions, and of all the donations and endowments they have received, is one, the best advancement of liberal education in East Tennessee.

Dr. Coffin suggested that it would be helpful if Pryor Lea would come to Greeneville and present the consolidation proposal to the trustees in person. He added some comments on the personal sacrifices which would be involved in his moving to Knoxville, mentioning among others loss of the advantage he held as postmaster of franking his own letters.

In his correspondence with Coffin, Pryor Lea enlarged upon the improved situation of East Tennessee College resulting from the receipt of the University of North Carolina land warrants and described the new building under construction. He hinted that these developments would affect unfavorably the enrollments of other institutions, including Greeneville College. Emphasizing this threat

[38] White, *op. cit.*, 23.

[39] *Knoxville Register,* November 1, 1826; Minutes, April 2, July 18, 1835, April 16, 1836. Two three-story dormitories and two "houses and appurtenances" were authorized in 1838-1839, but not built until 1842. White. *op. cit.*, 34; *Catalogue,* 1839, 1842. The "Old College" property, after being leased for a time to the Knoxville Female Academy and then to Hampden-Sidney Academy, was finally sold to Hugh L. McClung in 1832. Minutes, May 22, 1829, October 16, 1830, April 20, October 4, 1832; White, *op. cit.*, 34.

[40] This letter, together with portions, undated, either of two letters from Pryor Lea to Coffin or of two drafts of the same letter, is in the "East Tennessee College Manuscripts and Moses White Papers" kept in the vault of the University of Tennessee Library.

to the personal fortunes of Dr. Coffin, he added: "Even a moderate salary in a College permanently endowed with respectable funds would suit you much better." He admitted that there had been in the past some prejudice against Dr. Coffin in Knoxville, but he believed it had largely dissipated, especially since Dr. Coffin had stopped preaching. Lea was also hopeful concerning the prospects of consolidation and suggested that the Greeneville College buildings might be used to great advantage by the female academy or other schools. He continued:

No complaint could, therefore, be lawfully made of any injustice. The liberal minded in all quarters would be disposed to consult the public good, and, if the people of your neighborhood are really your friends, they ought to be willing to forego some of their supposed advantages for your benefit; more especially as you have almost worn yourself out in their service, and they hold on you, at most, if anything, nothing more than an imaginary or honorary obligation, from which you deserve to have absolution.

Let all the energies of East Tennessee be combined to raise one noble fountain of literature, and all the country may be watered with the pure stream of science. Fruits delicious will grow where hitherto has been but dry and barren waste.[41]

The efforts to bring about a consolidation with Greeneville College were unsuccessful[42] and special inducements had to be offered to lure Dr. Coffin away from that institution. Believing that to provide him with an attractive home in which to live would prove such an inducement, the trustees arranged to buy from Charles McClung, Jr. for $2304 a seventy-four acre tract of land, including his spacious residence, garden and grounds, lying within the shadow of the hill on which the new building was being constructed. The salary offered to Dr. Coffin, $1500 a year, was also unusually attractive for that period of time.[43] These overtures apparently satisfied Dr. Coffin, for on January 27 he wrote again to Pryor Lea, announcing his intention to visit East Tennessee College and discuss with the trustees the plans for its advancement. He suggested particularly the "publication of a classical course," arrangements with store-

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[41] *Ibid.* Incidentally, Pryor Lea had been a student of Dr. Coffin's at Greeneville College.

[42] The original manuscript of a consolidation ogreement, dated December 5, 1826, and signed by John A. McKinney, Seth J. W. Lucky, and Jacob Peck for Greeneville College, and James King, W. C. Mynatt, and Pryor Lea for Blount College, is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library. It was made dependent on the approval of the two boards of trustees. It appears that the Greeneville trustees were unwilling to move their institution, "lock, stock, and barrell," to Knoxville.

[43] Minutes, December 9, 1826, February 3, 13, 1827. In the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, there is an option from Charles McClung, Jr. to East Tennessee College on a seventy-four acre tract of land for $2304, dated March 1, 1827, dependent on the approval of the trustees. On April 7 the board ordered, in confirmation of its previous action, that a part of Dr. Coffin's compensation should be the use of the house and garden on the tract "recently purchased" from Charles McClung, Jr. See also the treasurer's report, listing payment of $2304 to McClung. Minutes, October 5, 1827.

keepers "to have on hand a supply for students," and an "agreement with certain families, to make the price of boarding permanently moderate."[44]

Dr. Coffin assumed the position of president of East Tennessee College in the spring of 1827 and brought with him from Greeneville Rev. Stephen Foster, who, like Dr. Coffin, was a Presbyterian minister. Professor McBath, who had been serving as president pro-tem, was also retained on the faculty.[45] On March 10, 1827, just prior to Dr. Coffin's arrival, the board of trustees ordered published in the newspapers a "public exhibition of some of the prospects of the institution." In addition to eulogizing the ability of the three teachers for the next session, it pledged the establishment of a permanent capital fund, expressing the belief that the interest and tuition would defray all ordinary expenses. The old college home was to be used until the new building was completed, and until that time the requirements for admission would not be "so high as afterwards" might be expected. Announcing that the preparatory and college courses of study would be made known before long, it declared "that the English language in its purity will be esteemed a study of chief importance" and "that no Sectarian doctrines are to be taught." It was announced that the philosophical and chemical "apparatus" which had been ordered some time before had arrived. A library was needed and was to be procured,[46] but in the meantime the private library of one of the professors would "in some degree supply the deficiency." The College had no boarding house, but board and lodging were available in town for $1.50 per week. The "exhibition" closed with an appeal for the "liberal patronage of the community."

On October 22, 1828 the trustees were at length able to announce in the *Knoxville Register*, "that the building on College-hill, west of Knoxville, is completed, and in a state of readiness to be applied to the objects and purposes of the institution." The announcement continues:

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[44] This letter is in the Tennessee Room of the University of Tennessee Library.

[45] His salary was reduced, however, to $300 per session, the same as that offered Professor Foster. At the end of the summer session he was granted the master of arts degree, which was probably in the nature of additional compensation. He resigned in April, 1828. Minutes, April 7, October 4, 1827, April 12, 1828.

[46] In October, 1830 the board granted Dr. Coffin permission to travel to solicit donations for the library. On May 20, 1831 he was instructed to pay in the amount he had collected, minus $275 deducted for expenses. A correspondent to the *Knoxville Register*, May 4, 1831, reported that Dr. Coffin was in New Orleans soliciting donations, and commented that when "the library shall have been enlarged, we shall have, with the Chemical and Philosophical apparatus on hand, as much of the *materiel* of education, as in any institution in the West." Although he approved of the "zeal now being displayed in the cultivation of the hitherto, too much neglected female mind," he deprecated the tendency of "leaving our sons, our future fathers, sovereigns and legislators of the land, in a state, either of gross ignorance, or of half scholarship."

And now, that it is finished, they venture to remark, that, in point of excellence and adaptation to the object in view, the College building may fairly challenge competition. Situated in the vicinity of a flourishing village, of two thousand people, upon a hill at once beautiful, elevated and picturesque, from which can be seen the Cumberland mountain, on the north, that of Clinch on the east, and the Alleghany ranges, on the south, and which is washed by a noble river, shortly to bear upon its bosom, by the agency of steam, the commerce of an extensive section of the country, the Trustees know no point better calculated to gratify the taste, elevate the mind, and invigorate the health of the student.[47]

In an effort to improve even further these surroundings, a committee[48] of the trustees advertised in the *Knoxville Register,* April 27, 1831, for proposals for fencing and landscaping the campus. The specifications for "enclosing" the forty acres were as follows:

The fence, on the margin of Second Creek, and to unite with Col. Campbell's fence at or near said creek, will be of good large Oak rails, eleven feet long, with four and a half full worm—eight rails high, with stakes and riders in addition, and the ground to be levelled for the fence. The fence, from Second Creek along the side of the road to Col. Campbell's fence near the road, will be of posts and planks—the posts to be of Cedar or Locust, and the Plank of Pine; twelve inches wide, one inch thick and eighteen feet long; the posts to be sunk thirty inches after levelling the surface of the earth—the fence to be made five feet high, and planked on top—with a double gate, of suitable size, fronting the college door.

The committee also wished "100 good shade trees of Locust, Cedar or Mulberry set out," and an "avenue of Lombardy Poplars to the plank fence, including the gate." Finally, the trustees were willing to lease the college grounds for five years, "to be cultivated in blue grass and clover only."

According to White, the new president took advantage of a legislative act of 1818 authorizing all colleges in the state to confer the usual degrees, and under his direction three Presbyterian ministers of great prominence in the region, Reverends Robert Henderson, Gideon Blackburn, and Samuel Doak, were honored with the degree of S. T. D.[49] Considerable attention was also paid to the

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[47] This announcement also included the first course of study, as lated adopted by the trustees in May, 1829. It further states that fifty students were in attendance during the last session, and that tuition was $16.00 for the College and $10.00 for the preparatory school.

The improved prospects of the institution also gave the people of Knoxville new hope. The editor of the *Knoxville Enquirer,* Rev. Thomas Stringfield enthusiastically acclaimed: "The new building is situated on an eminence which presents to the beholder's eye one of the most beautiful sceneries in nature, the lofty mountaints of the Alleghany, with their awful grandeur, contrasted with the wide-spread valleys and beautiful hills, are certainly well calculated to inspire the youthful bosom with elevated views of nature, and of nature's God, and to create an unquenchable thirst for Knowledge." White, *op. cit.,* 23-24.

[48] Composed of James Park, James King, and W. C. Mynatt.

[49] White, *op. cit.,* 24. No reference to the conferring of these three degrees could be found by the writer in the Minutes. Moreover, the institution already had

commencement exercises, which became exhibitions of eloquence and classicism. In Moses White's history, there is reproduced the program of 1827,[50] which contained, among its fourteen items:

1 Salutatory oration in Latin, on the character of Cicero; By Charles Scott.
2 A Forensic debate on the question, "Has the art of Printing been of greater advantage to mankind than the art of Navigation?" By John M. Coffin and Maxwell D. Pepper.
6 A conference on Agriculture, Commerce, Manufacture and the Fine Arts; . . .
7 A French Oration on Virtuous Emulation; . . .
8 A forensic debate on the question, "Was it a more difficult work to establish our liberties than it is to maintain them?" By George M. Lindsay and Thomas A. R. Nelson.
9 A Greek Oration on the character of Demosthenes; . . .
14 The Valedictory Oration on Moral Courage; By James A. Coffin, a candidate for graduation.

It would seem that the last mentioned topic might have been something of a sedative for those who had had the courage to sit through the program. Following these exercises, Pryor Lea, secretary of the board of trustees, "issued a congratulatory address to the public, felicitating themselves with the idea that 'a day of science had fairly dawned' upon them."[51]

Although Dr. Coffin's administration marked the begining of a new era in the history of East Tennessee College, it also coincided with a period of growing public opposition to the institution. This opposition was due in part to the fact that some of the money used in the construction of the new building had been collected from the squatters on the college lands south of the French Broad River under the provisions of the act of 1823, involving in many cases foreclosure

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the right to confer degrees according to the charter of 1807. In 1830 J. A. Coffin and Professor J. H. Piper received M.A. degrees; and in 1832 four "honorary" M.A. degrees were conferred, and one "honorary" A.B. degree—on Perez Dickinson, later a prominent member of the board of trustees. Minutes, October 7, 1830, October 4, 1832. At that time the *Laws of East Tennessee College,* of 1829 (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library), provided: "Every Bachelor in the third year after his first degree, if he shall have sustained a fair character, and shall perform such exercises as may be assigned him, shall be entitled to the degree of Master of Arts, for which he shall pay the same perquisite as for the first degree." Also, "Honorary degrees may be conferred . . . on individuals in the community, of distinguished merit; . . . free of all charge."

[50] *Ibid.,* 24-26. Among the participants in this program were a later member of Congress, a judge of the state supreme court, a minister to Constantinople, a chancellor of Mississippi, two judges of the state circuit court, and a state comptroller. Sanford, *op. cit.,* 62.

[51] That this comment on science was no empty boast is indicated by a letter (in the Tennessee Room of the University of Tennessee Library) to James McBath, professor of "Natural Physics and Mathematics," from a P. Ely (Philadelphia, Pa., January 18, 1828), commissioned to purchase scientific equipment, discussing the details of price and quality of glass cylinders, nautical almanacs, quadrants, convex lenses, receivers, prisms, artificial horizons, and reflecting telescopes.

and eviction.[52] Candidates for public office were not loath to appeal to the cupidity of these antagonized squatters by denouncing the colleges and the whole program of higher education. Thomas D. Arnold, a Knoxville lawyer and candidate for Congress in 1827, declared:

People south of the River: You are building a mighty fine college here. Are you going to send your children here to school? . . . Don't you think that if the money that has been collected off of you had been expended in your neighborhoods, in establishing Common Schools, that you would have profited more. . .?[53]

Even more denunciatory was a speech by Dr. John C. Gunn, author of *Gunn's Domestic Medicine* and a candidate for the legislature in 1829:

Behold that great rotunda—that monument of folly, the College. That building for the rich man's son—that building which closes its doors against the poor man's child; for let him give the best character he can, according to the present state of things, he cannot enter this temple of aristocracy. Why, do they forget that the south-of-the-river people paid drop by drop of sweat, to erect this tomb of extravagance—this wild goose scheme—this fanciful—this melancholy building, raising its proud front on an isolated hill, until you became exhausted to reach the summit. . . .

Oh! how the people have been oiled! Do you forget that tower Babel—the steeple, as it raises its glittering spire, as if supplicating the Author of all good, to forgive its projectors for such blind, such foolish extravagance. . . . A building that cost $13,000 of the people's money! A steeple that cost $2,726 of the people's money, including its glittering spire, clock and ornaments! Fifteen hundred dollars a year, and a fine house, to oil Rev. Doctor Coffin, for teaching thirty-five students, and half of them small children! . .[54]

One result of this public antagonism was the receipt of frequent inquiries concerning the affairs of the College from the legislature, until on May 20, 1831 the board finally protested that the College was "already too much penalized by legislative interference." This process of investigation had begun with a resolution of inquiry adopted by the legislature on September 26, 1827, to which the board replied with a detailed communication, which is incorporated in the minutes for October 19 of the same year. Along with its report on income and expenditures, the board took occasion to remonstrate that the legislature had failed to give the College its just dues according to the Compact of 1806. In defense of collegiate as opposed to common school education, the board pointed out that common schools could not be expected to develop until the

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[52] In 1825, in one issue of the *Knoxville Register,* 343 pieces of land in Blount County were offered for sale; and in 1827 it was reported that one thousand tracts had been sold. Hamer, *op. cit.,* I, 367. The trustees, however, in collaboration with those of Cumberland College, repeatedly offered the squatters additional time in which to redeem their lands. Minutes, June 1, 1824, *et passim.*

[53] White, *op. cit.,* 26.

[54] *Ibid.,* 27-28.

growth of colleges had prepared the way for them by training teachers and providing the necessary inspiration and desire for knowledge. Regarding the "branches of education taught," the trustees could reply only in general terms, because, in the interest of economy, the College had "never designated any particular course of studies, but allowed the students, with proper advice, to choose for themselves." Generally, however, the students pursued a course "common in other colleges," and a "knowledge of such" was required for graduation.

This lack of a definite curriculum was remedied on May 9, 1829 by the adoption of a course of study for each of the four collegiate classes and for the preparatory school. It appears to have been modeled after the extremely classical curricula in vogue at the time at Harvard and Yale, which were so eloquently defended in a report of the Yale faculty published in 1828.[55] It is probable, however, that this curriculum was not followed very closely; and a later president, Joseph Estabrook, is usually given credit for the inauguration of organized classes. In another effort to combat popular prejudice, the board, on October 3, 1829, ordered that two young men from each county in East Tennessee should be admitted "without regular tuition," provided they submitted evidence of "promising talents and good moral character, and are, from indigent circumstances, unable to pay."[56]

President Coffin performed with great energy his administrative work and at the same time did his share of teaching. "But the storm of popular prejudice continued to rage with increasing violence," and he was "forced to bend before its fury."[57] A copy of his resignation, dated October 20, 1832, is in the minutes of the board for the same date. He explained that when invited, without any solicitation on his part, to become president of East Tennessee College, he had feared that the time had not come as to "conditions and resources and public feeling" of the people of East Tennessee for the College to advance to that prosperity and usefulness which its charter, funds, land claims and central location merited. In spite of his feeble health, he had found it necessary to engage full-time teaching, instead of the one or two hours a day he had expected. The experience of more than five years had "abundantly convinced" him that

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[55] L. F. Snow, *The College Curriculum in the United States* (New York, 1907), 126-29, 143-54. The 1829 course of study was very similar to the one published in the 1838 catalogue, as given below. It included in the senior year "Greek Testament or Hebrew or French Language, at the option of the Student." This course had already been outlined in an advertisement in the *Knoxville Register*, October 22, 1828.

[56] The "Laws of East Tennessee College," adopted in 1821, had already provided that a "limited number," to be determined by the board of trustees, of indigent students should be admitted free of tuition each year.

[57] White, *op. cit.*, 30.

it must be the work of time with the best exertions that can be made by Trustees and Instructors, and with much greater concurrence of our population than has yet been given, to place the Institution in a satisfactory state of advancement. The very people that will in no way help you, will utter the loudest complaints that little or nothing is done—It would afford me much delight, to see some younger man, of unfailing health, and capable by day and by night of more intense application to the duties connected with the presidency, succeeding far beyond myself.

The board induced Dr. Coffin to remain in office until the end of the session, and at the time of his departure incorporated in the minutes for April 4, 1833, an eloquent tribute to "the untiring zeal, the unshaken fidelity and the distinguished ability" which he had "for many years devoted to the service of the institution."[58]

As his successor, the trustees selected one of the two remaining members of the faculty, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, James H. Piper, a Virginian and an alumnus of the College of the same class as the later president, Thomas W. Humes. Although a "Christian gentleman of learning and culture," and a former president of a college at Columbia, Tennessee, he was evidently too young for the position and resigned in despair after one year.[59]

Piper was succeeded as president in 1834 by Joseph Estabrook, A. M., a graduate of Dartmouth and a man of scientific interest and training. He had begun preparation for the Presbyterian ministry at Princeton Theological Seminary, when "throat trouble prevented the prosecution of his studies," and he turned to the teaching profession. After serving as principal of Amherst Academy and as a professor at its successor, Amherst College, he moved to the South in search of health and became principal of a girls' school at Staunton, Virginia. At the time of his appointment to East Tennessee College he was serving as president of the Knoxville Female Academy.[60] Under Estabrook's able leadership the College rapidly ad-

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[58] According to one of his ministerial friends, writing in 1857, Dr. Coffin "was of about the medium size, with very white hair, a bright eye, well-formed features, expressive countenance, and in his whole bearing benignant, dignified and venerable. . . . [His] whole professional life was identified with the cause of education. . . . He was not only an excellent teacher, but an admirable disciplinarian—he carefully studied the peculiar mental and moral constitutions of those who were committed to his care; and the results of his labours in forming the minds and characters of many of the most influential men in the Southwest, are the best testimony to his ability and fidelity." Sprague, *op. cit.*, IV, 249-50.

[59] *Ibid.*, 30. His letter of resignation (in the vault of the University of Tennessee Library) begins: "As I do not see any prospect of the condition of East Tennessee College being improved by my longer continuance in it, I think it due to the Trustees that I resign the appointment. . . ." It appears that he went to Virginia and engaged in the Presbyterian ministry. *University of Tennessee Record*, 1898, p. 270.

[60] *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 270. At Amherst he was reported as "given to elegant ruffles and fine boots, to the prodigious use of snuff, to shooting even on Fast-Day, and, capping all, to dreams which told him faithfully how to win $5,000 by lottery." *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 186.

vanced "from almost total prostration to a respectable rank among the educational institutions of the country." He surrounded himself with a corps of able assistants, introduced a milder form of discipline, and "enjoyed the respect, the confidence and the affection of all his students." Six years after he assumed the presidency, the name of the institution was changed to East Tennessee University, and Estabrook continued as president for ten years more, until 1850.[61]

Among the achievements of his administration, during the East Tennessee College period, were the construction of additional buildings, the organization of instruction work into regular classes in 1837, the publication of the first College catalogue—for the school year 1837-1838, and the development of literary societies. The first debating, or literary society of which we have any knowledge was the "Republican Dialectical Adelphic Society," which was transferred with Dr. Coffin from Greeneville College. In 1835, under President Estabrook, the students organized a new society, called the "Dialectic Adelphick Society," which was replaced the next year by two rival societies which continued on into the University of Tennessee period, the Chi Delta and the Philomathesian. These organizations became so notable that they were toasted at the semicentennial of the College as "The Nurseries of Genius, and the pride of the Institution." [62]

The first catalogue of East Tennessee College, published in 1838, provides considerable information concerning the status of the institution at that time. The faculty was composed of five professors: Joseph Estabrook, A. M., "President and Lecturer on Chemistry, Mineralogy, etc."; Henry Wright, A. B., "Department of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy"; Rev. W. J. Keith, "Department of Ancient Languages"; James Garvin, A. M., "Department of Modern Languages"; and Hugh Brown, A. M., who, along with Mr. Garvin, presided over the "Preparatory and Scientific Department."[63] The total number of students was 95, of whom five were seniors, eight juniors, fifteen sophomores, twenty freshmen, and forty-seven enrolled in the "Preparatory and Scientific Department." According to the "Course of Study," candidates for admission to the freshman class were examined in "Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Greek Reader, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography." Each of the four classes attended three recitations or lectures a day. During the winter and summer sessions the fresh-

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[61] White, *op. cit.*, 30-31.

[62] *Ibid.*, 32-33.

[63] The salary of the president was raised in April, 1838 from $1200 to $1500 a year; the other members of the faculty were allowed $800 per year, except Kieth, who was given $700 plus house rent. Minutes, April 6, 1838.

men studied Sallust, Livy, Graeca Majora (major Greek authors), algebra, and "Latin Translations or Compositions and Declamation alternately once a fortnight." The sophomores were exposed to Horace, Euclid, "Day's Mathematics," plane trigonometry, nature and use of logarithms, "Mensuration of Superfices and Solids, and Isoperimetry; Mensuration of Heights and Distances, and Navigation," Cicero, and Graeca Majora. The schedule for the junior class included "Conic Sections," Tacitus, Graeca Majora, "Blair's Lectures," natural philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy and geology, astronomy, "Calculation and Projection of Eclipses; Paley's Moral Philosophy; Hedge's Logic," and "Tytler's History." After having completed this regimen, the seniors were considered ready, in the winter session, for "Vattel's Law of Nations; Stewart's Mental Philosophy; Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science," and the fourth year of Graeca Majora. In the summer they warmed up for graduation with "Paley's Natural Theology; Paley's Evidences of Christianity; Political Economy; the Greek Testament or French, at the option of the student; such reviews of Greek, Latin and other branches, as the Faculty deem requisite," and "Compositions especially assigned them for the exhibition on commencement day."[64]

The preparatory and scientific department was attached to the College "For the purpose of qualifying students for admission into the regular classes; and also for the benefit of young men who are unable to complete the Collegiate course of study." No student was admitted under fourteen years of age. Each candidate for admission to the College was expected to produce testimonials of good moral character, and before entrance either he or his parent or guardian was provided with a copy of the "laws and regulations." The catalogue declares:

> The necessity of such rules and of their strict observance, will be felt by all who reflect, that one of the primary objects of education is the habit of order. The moral as well as literary character of the student should be elevated, not lowered, by his connexion with the College.

These rules were based on the "Laws" adopted in October, 1821, mentioned above.[65] The first section of the chapter of these "Laws" dealing with crimes and misdemeanors required that every student "shew in speech and behaviour, all proper tokens of Reverence and obedience to the Faculty of the College; and if any student

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[64] This course of study was also incorporated as chapter three in the *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, April 1838* (Knoxville, 1838).

[65] These laws were extensively revised and expanded in 1829. *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, October,* 1829 (Knoxville, 1829). At the time of editing the 1821 edition for *Publications,* No. 16 (1944), the writer had not seen the printed copy of the 1829 revision in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library. The less extensive revision adopted in 1838, which is also available in printed form, remained practically unchanged during the pre-war history of East Tennessee University and is therefore treated in the next chapter of this study.

shall transgress this law by treating them or any of them with reviling or reproachful language or by behaving contumaciously or contemptuously toward them, or by being guilty of any kind of contempt of their persons or authority he may be punished by any censure, even to expulsion, as the nature of aggravations of his crime may require." Other offenses punishable by expulsion were "Blasphemy, Robbery, fornication, theft, forgory [*sic*] duelling or any other crime for which an infamous punishment may be inflicted by the laws of the State." The "Laws" went on to declare that if any student "shall assault, wound or strike the President or Professor or Tutor, or shall maliciously or designedly break their windows or doors he shall be expelled"; and if "guilty of fighting, striking, quarrelling [*sic*], challenging, turbulent words or behavior, wearing women's apparel, fraud, lying, defamation, or such like crimes, he shall be punished by fine, admonition or other College punishments suited to the nature and demerit of the crime." Further evidence of the need for rules may be found in the minutes of the board for September, 1836. Charges were brought against two students, Robert Kyle and Benjamin F. Allen, for "an affray." Allen was acquitted, but Kyle was suspended for two months for "carrying arms and attempting to use them." One of the amendments to the rules, adopted early in Coffin's administration, was that no student, while the College was in session, should attend any other school, except the "singing school," or any "dancing party or festive entertainment" in the town of Knoxville.[66]

The school year was divided into two sessions. The winter session began in October, after a "fall vacation" of six weeks, and extended until the third Wednesday in March. After a "spring vacation" of five weeks, the summer session began in April and closed on commencement day, which was the second Wednesday in September. The estimated expenses per session were listed in the 1838 catalogue as follows:

Boarding and room-rent	$ 24.00
Tuition	13.00
Library tax, or expense for books	.50
Washing, fuel and lights, estimated at	8.00
Use of furniture, estimated at	1.00
Stationery, estimated at	1.00
Amount per session	$ 47.00

Although the students were not required to live in the College dormitories, it was pointed out that "the price of boarding in private families is generally from fifty to seventy-five cents per week more than at the College boardinghouse."

[66] Minutes, May 12, 1827.

In a further attempt to attract students the catalogue of 1838 emphasizes the favorable location and healthful surroundings of the institution:

The College buildings are situated on a beautiful eminence of considerable elevation on the north bank of the Holston, about half a mile west of Knoxville. This location, which commands an extensive prospect, in healthiness of situation is unsurpassed. No fevers or epidemics of any kind have ever affected the residents at the College, since the period of its organization.[67]

The next catalogue, of 1839, of which there is a photostatic copy in the University Library, contributes the additional information that the College library contained "about 3,000 well selected Volumes," to which it was expected that additions soon would be made. This catalogue also calls attention to the "extensive and valuable apparatus for illustrating" the sciences, and the additions to the mineralogical and geological cabinet of the collection of minerals belonging to the recently engaged Professor L. F. Clark.[68] By that time the curriculum had been expanded to include anatomy and physiology, botany, and zoology.[69] This 1839 catalogue also states that an appropriation by the last session of the legislature—referring to the grant of land in the Ocoee district— would enable the trustees "to enlarge the advantages of the Institution without materially increasing the expenses of the students." Thus the College was approaching readiness to advance into a new period of its history under the new name of "East Tennessee University."[70]

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[67] This last sentence had to be amended in the next catalogue, of 1839, because of an epidemic in Knoxville during the preceding season. At that time the name "Holston" was applied to what is now the "Tennessee" as far down as the mouth of the Little Tennessee.

[68] Professor Clark, who apparently succeeded Henry Wright, was given the title, "Professor of Chemistry, Natural Philosophy and Natural History," thus relieving the president of some of his professional duties, who now became professor of intellectual and moral philosophy. Garvin was assigned the subject of mathematics in addition to modern languages, and Reverend Keith had become librarian as well as professor of ancient languages. In the place of Hugh Brown, Horace Maynard, who later became an outstanding political leader, had been engaged as tutor.

[69] In the next catalogue, 1840, the last one issued under the name "East Tennessee College," the curriculum was expanded to include in the senior year Hebrew, Spanish, or civil engineering, at the "option of the Student."

[70] It continued under this name from 1840 to 1879, when it became the University of Tennessee.

GEORGE ROULSTONE: FATHER OF THE TENNESSEE PRESS

By Samuel C. Williams

The founder and long-time proprietor and editor of the first newspaper in the Tennessee country has deserved a more adequate recognition than he has received.[1] No sketch of his career has ever appeared, and the many who have followed him in the publishing and editorial field in Tennessee cannot be acquitted of a degree of censure for the lack.

George Roulstone was born in Boston, October 8, 1767, and was reared there. He received a fair education and learned the printer's trade, doubtless as an apprentice of one of Boston's printers. The beginnings of Benjamin Franklin in that city and his after-career must have been an inspiration to young Roulstone and other youths. After learning the fundamentals of the printing art, he soon, before his twentieth birthday, launched forth as a printer and publisher. In March, 1786, he established the *Salem Chronicle and Essex Advertiser,* which he continued only until August of the same year. It is presumed that during 1787-88 he worked as a journeyman printer in Massachusetts. The South, particularly North Carolina, in that period was an inviting field, and by August, 1789, he reached Fayetteville, North Carolina, where the firm of Sibley & Howard was beginning (August 4, 1789) the publication of the *North Carolina Chronicle, or Fayetteville Gazette.*[2] Young Roulstone was employed by the publishers as printer of that newspaper, and remained in Fayetteville until March, 1791.

Robert Ferguson, as early as 1786, published in Hillsborough the *North Carolina Gazette.* William Blount received his commission as governor of the Southwest Territory in July, 1790, having been appointed by President Washington the preceding month.

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[1] The appraisal of Roulstone by Edward T. Sanford, of Knoxville, later an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was: "George Roulstone, deserving of immortality as proprietor and editor of the first newspaper published in Tennessee." *Blount College and the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1894), 15.

[2] S. B. Weeks in *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1895-1905), XXX, 155. Clarence S. Brigham, specialist of the American Antiquarian Society, thinks the firm which established that newspaper was Burloe & Mears. Weeks was a most painstaking researcher and is followed here.

He became active in arranging his business affairs, and visited Hillsborough.[3] It is believed that he there made contact with Ferguson in relation to the establishment of a newspaper in the Southwest Territory, and that in turn Ferguson interested Roulstone in the undertaking[4] after the latter's discontinuance of work on the Fayetteville newspaper.

A printing press, type, and outfit were transported to the new Territory, evidently by wagons and through the Hillsville Gap, thence down the valley of the Holston. Seemingly, Roulstone acquired the outfit of the Fayetteville newspaper that he had printed.[5] The first location of the printing plant was at Hawkins Court House, later Rogersville, the town of Knoxville being as yet not even in the embryo stage. However, the intention was to move the outfit down to Knoxville later on, and the name given to the first issues of the paper at Rogersville was the *Knoxville Gazette*.

A revealing fact in this connection is: the establishment of the *Knoxville Gazette* preceded by years the appearance of a newspaper in the much larger Northwest Territory. On November 11, 1793, William Maxwell issued from the village of Cincinnati the first number of the *Centinel of the Northwest Territory*, a very small weekly, printed from worn and battered type, on an old cast-off press.[6] This fact is the more noteworthy because transportation of a press and printing equipment was easier from Pittsburgh down the Ohio than over the mountains.

The *Knoxville Gazette* was a three-column, four-page paper[7] and in typographical dress it was most creditable, the period and place considered. The type used was fairly clear-faced and rag paper was used, which caused the first volume to endure throughout the period of the century and a half that has elapsed.[8]

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[3]H. M. Wagstaff (ed.), *Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh, 1924),I, 68.

[4]John Haywood, without mentioning Ferguson, says that Blount "procured Mr. Roulstone, a printer, to go to the new Territory." *Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (reprinted, Nashville, 1891), 272. This may be true even though Roulstone was influenced through Ferguson.

[5]S. B. Weeks' list of early North Carolina newspapers indicates that the *Fayetteville Gazette* ceased publication in 1791. Some part of the purchase price of the outfit may have been paid by Ferguson. It is more probable that he executed a note to Roulstone, and was never able to pay the same.

[6]F. L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier* (Boston and New York, 1924) 94; J. W. Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1848), II, 263-64. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* began publication July 29, 1788, and was the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies. It was followed by the *Kentucke Gazette*, in Lexington, August 11, 1787.

[7]In comparison, the early numbers of the *Centinel* were, as to size: 8½ inches by 10¼ inches of space occupied by type-print.

[8]The file of that volume, along with many later issues, is in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville. Draper made repeated efforts to get these files, and had he succeeded the files would in likelihood now be at Madison, Wisconsin, far away from Tennessee researchers.

Evidently for the lack of news, the reprinting in the columns of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* was begun in the first number, and concluded in the issue of November 5, 1791. The printery was moved to Knoxville in the fall of 1792, the shift operating to prevent the appearance of the number due to come from the press on October 6, though it made its appearance four days later, with this explanation: "The removal of the printing office from Hawkins C. H. to this place prevented the publication of this paper till this day."

Ferguson continued as co-publisher until April, 1793, when a dissolution of the partnership took place.

The *Gazette* of April 20, 1793, carried an announcement that the firm of Roulstone and Ferguson had expired by the terms of the articles of copartnership. The "publication of the Knoxville *Gazette* must long since have ceased, had not a few gentlemen (actuated thro' friendship for them, and a desire to preserve so useful a vehicle of intelligence to the public) stepped forward to their assistance. The *Gazette* will be published for the future by *George Roulstone and Co.*" This group of friends, we may fairly assume, included Governor Blount, General Sevier, Colonel White and one or more merchants of Knoxville.

Ferguson seems to have been a minor factor in the enterprise, and, also, in the community. Publication was continued for a short time by "Roulstone & Co." The printing office was located near the home occupied by Governor Blount.[9]

The Governor and General John Sevier were, in a sense, the guiding spirits in molding the policy of the fledgling weekly. The former was near at hand to suggest and counsel; Sevier was visited by Roulstone at the Nolachucky home of the General, and on occasion he corresponded with the latter on matters of policy. General James Robertson was recognized and treated as a trusted friend of Blount. In short, the *Gazette* was conducted as the administration organ.[10] At the outset the paper had a conservative, not to say Federalist, leaning but it soon veered, as did Blount and the people, to more democratic ideas and policy.

The expansion of the circulation of his newspaper early became

[9]The printery was in a log building which stood less than two blocks from the Blount home—on the east side of Gay Street between Cumberland and Main, where the Colonial Hotel stood in later years. Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, of Knoxville, has recently discovered in the courthouse of Knox County information locating the site of the Roulstone home. She has informed the writer that in an "Old Book of Marks and Brands, Stock Mark Record 1792," for the July term, 1798, it was "Ordered that George Roulstone have liberty to build and keep up a Mill on his own land in Knox County on a fork of Tuckahoe Creek."

[10]See in this connection the "Robertson Correspondence," in *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville), *passim*, especially VI, 222; and *Calendar of Tennessee Papers* (Draper's), 58, 213, 224.

a concern, since there were no postal routes or facilities, even from Knoxville to the older, upper counties of the Territory where was the bulk of population and the potential support of a newspaper. Captain John Chisholm, evidently induced by Roulstone, took steps in October, 1792 to establish a mail route from Knoxville to Abingdon through Jefferson Court House, Greeneville and Jonesborough. The return trip was by the western route through Sullivan and Hawkins Court Houses. Trips were to have been made every twenty-one days. Subscription blanks were printed and merchants and others were appealed to for support, but no subscriptions under $2.00 were to be received. The route was to be opened when subscriptions to the amount of $250.00 were received.[11] Three weeks later the paper announced that the route was established and urged that fact as a reason for an increase in the number of subscriptions to the newspaper.[12] Roulstone shortly afterwards took over the operation of the route.[13]

It was not until much later, by the act of May 8, 1794, that Congress took steps to establish a postal route into the Territory from the East: by way of Abingdon, Jonesborough, Greeneville, and Jefferson Court House, to Knoxville and return.[14] A postmaster at Knoxville was not commissioned until November, 1794, when George Roulstone became the first postmaster in the Tennessee country. In the latter part of 1795, one was appointed at Nashville, to which town mails from the East had been sent through Kentucky. The lack of a government-supported route from Knoxville to Nashville was a handicap to Roulstone's newspaper. However, this hardship was remedied when the postmaster-general announced, in February, 1796, a discontinuance of the route through Kentucky and that "a post route is established from Knoxville to Nashville as there is a good wagon road opened between these two places," the want of which was assigned as reason for the delay in establishing the

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[11]Announcement to that effect appeared in the *Gazette* of October 6, 1792.

[12]*Ibid.*, November 3, 1792.

[13]Regarding a somewhat later step, J. G. M. Ramsey states in his *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853, p. 687); "To remedy the infrequency and consequent inadequacy of mail facilities, different expedients were adopted. The publisher of the *Gazette*, wishing to extend circulation of that journal, engaged Mr. Munford Smith to ride post for him. Mr. Roulstone advertised in the *Gazette*—

'His route will be as follows, provided a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained. He will set out every other Monday and go by way of Maryville to Sevierville; from thence to Dandridge, to Hugh Neilson's, Esq., on Lick Creek; from thence to Hawkins' Court-House; and from thence, by Haine's Iron Works, crossing at McBee's Ferry to Knoxville. . . . Each subscriber is to pay one cent a paper, in addition to the subscription, which is three dollars per annum.' "

[14]It was stipulated that the carrier was to travel about thirty-five miles a day. Trouble was encountered in procuring postmasters in towns above Knoxville. The return trip was soon changed so as to reach Sullivan and Hawkins Court Houses. Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Southwest Territory* (Washington, D. C., 1936), 343-45, 378-79.

new route. Thus, for the first time, was the *Gazette* given access to anything like numerous readers in the Cumberland settlements. The *Gazette*, for years afterwards, was the only newspaper in the Southwest Territory or the State of Tennessee.[15]

In 1796 there appeared in Knoxville another native of Massachusetts, Moses Fisk,[16] who brought letters of introduction from William Blount, then in Philadelphia as a senator in Congress. The meeting and association of Roulstone and Fisk must have been gratifying to both. They doubtless discussed the new region to which they had removed, and the opportunities it afforded. Fisk moved on into Middle Tennessee where he became a notable man.

In 1802, when Francois A. Michaux was traveling through Tennessee, he met Fisk, and the two together journeyed across the Cumberland Mountains to Knoxville. There they sought out Roulstone, of whom Michaux wrote:[17]

> There is a newspaper printed at Knoxville which comes out twice a week, and written and published by Mr. Roulstone, a fellow-countryman and friend of my travelling companion, Mr. Fisk. It is very remarkable that most of the emigrants from New England have an ascendency over the others in point of morals, industry, and knowledge.

The issuance of the *Gazette* semi-weekly in 1802 shows the growth of the reading public in the first decade of the newspaper.

Roulstone as a citizen: The ability and worth of George Roulstone as a member of the community was not long in receiving recognition. When Blount College (now the University of Tennessee) was incorporated in 1794, Roulstone was named in the act as a trustee, along with several notables: William Blount, governor of the Territory; four who subsequently became U. S. senators, three who became governors of Tennessee, and three who were to be brigadier-generals.

When the first legislature of the Southwest Territory was organized, the clerkly Roulstone was elected clerk of the council of state, which was in the nature of an upper house or senate. He

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[15] *Ibid.*, 364, 396. Thomas Jefferson and William Tatham, as early as July, 1791, endeavored to provide the Southwest Territory with mail facilities. Tatham sent his younger brother, Charles, to interview and gain the cooperation of Blount, but he was not sanguine of the success of the mission. In August of that year he wrote Jefferson: "I have sent my brother to Governor Blount on the western post and other business. . . . But I think he will not succeed on this journey." William & *Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser., XVI, 174. Was Blount averse to Virginia influence permeating the Territory, or did he fear the rivalry of Davis' *Richmond Gazette* in the field where Roulstone's new *Gazette* had just been launched?

[16] Fisk (1759-1843) had graduated and served as a successful tutor at Dartmouth College. For some accounts of him: S. C. Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1928), 458, 484 and 522; also *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 366-71; and *History of Codification in Tennessee* (Johnson City, 1933), 10-12.

[17] In *Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains* (London, 1803), reprinted in R. G. Thwaites (ed.) *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904), 267.

had asked, and doubtless received, the support of General Sevier, who was a councillor. Roulstone served in that capacity until statehood. He was the clerk of the state senate under the first state constitution. In the legislatures of 1797-98, and 1801, he was chief clerk of the senate.

Prior to 1796 the legislature had made no provision for a public printer,[18] but in that year Roulstone was formally chosen to do the state's printing. Prior to that time he had printed the acts of the territorial legislature and the journals of their proceedings. He thus became the first public printer in Tennessee. His earliest work for the public was the printing of the ordinances of the Southwest Territory in 1793; then a proclamation issued by Governor Blount, 1794. *Journals* of the general assemblies of the Territory, however, bore the imprint, "George Roulstone, Printer to the Territory." Under employment he printed the proceedings of the constitutional convention of 1796 and the constitution adopted and promulgated in that year. Roulstone was sole printer until 1796, when the *Acts* bore the imprint, "Roulstone and Parrington, Printers to the State." In 1801 Roulstone's name alone appeared and this was true until his death.[19]

When occasion called, Blount used Roulstone to make contact with General Sevier, especially when the Governor was absent from the Territory.[20] Notwithstanding his close relations with Governor Blount, the latter honored Roulstone with only one commission—as commissioner of affidavits or depositions, the duties of which office did not much interfere with the conduct of the *Gazette* and the work of public printer. It appears that Roulstone also combined with the printery the sale of stationery to the public of Knoxville and its vicinity.

The most ambitious enterprise undertaken by Roulstone was a compilation of the acts of the general assemblies of the Southwest Territory and of the state of Tennessee to 1801. It was issued, in crude binding but on good paper, as *Roulstone's Laws*. In this volume the *Acts* were reprinted without any attempt to correct even typographical errors; the only editorial work done was the preparation by Roulstone of an index. Of the book one of our most care-

[18] Sevier in 1794 introduced a bill in the council of state which would have provided for a public printer, but it failed to pass.

[19] Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Tennessee* (Chicago, 1933).

[20] An example: When the Cumberland people were hard pressed by the Indians, Blount on his way East wrote from Greenaway's in Washington County, Virginia, to Secretary Smith: "Had you not best immediately on Receipt of these letters dispatch an express to the General [Sevier] with orders to hold himself in readiness to take the field. . . . I have directed Mr. Roulstone to shew the General both the Secretary's and Winchester's letters. I had a very long talk with the General; he rode with me ten miles and may be depended on as a friend to Government and its officers." June 18, 1793, in *American Historical Magazine*, VI, 223.

ful historians wrote: "It was however a manifestation of considerable enterprise, since the stock for carrying it on had to be transported many hundreds of miles at great expense. But complete sets of the Session Acts were, even then, so scarce as to invite the undertaking."[21] This Roulstone volume has become so excessively rare as to be a treasure of the legal bibliophile. It sells in the second-hand book market at about one hundred dollars. It is listed by bibliographers as "the first book published in the State of Tennessee."[22]

George Roulstone died on August 10, 1804, just as he was about to reach life's prime, leaving to his executors the task of carrying on the extensive printing business he had built up. In the *Gazette* of August 15 appeared an announcement of the death of its proprietor, along with an assurance that publication would be continued by his executors for the benefit of his widow and heirs. The *Gazette* was at that time enlarged to a four-column sheet. On his wife, Elizabeth (Gilliam) Roulstone[23] devolved the greater part of the responsibility of carrying on the business.

The *Journals* and *Acts* of the fifth legislature of Tennessee were published in 1804 by "the executors of George Roulstone, deceased, late Printer to the State." The *Journals* and *Acts* of the senate and lower house of the sixth legislature were "Printed for Elizabeth Roulstone by J. B. Hood, Printer." The printing of the *Journals* and *Acts* of the legislature of 1807 were "For William Moore, State Printer."

Moore, of Carthage, was a member of the legislature of 1805-06 from Smith County, and boarded in the Roulstone home. It is believed that he remained in Knoxville to learn the printing trade

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[21]A. V. Goodpasture, in *Am. Hist. Mag.*, VII, 69. Roulstone's book was widely used by the legal profession until the appearance of Haywood's *Revisal* of 1807.

[22]The correctness of this statement may be doubted. Much depends on what is called a "book." In 1803 Roulstone printed a small volume, which was perhaps bound in cloth or boards, entitled: *"A Catechetical Exposition of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee: Intended principally for the use of Schools.* By Willie Blount, Esq. Knoxville, Printed by George Roulstone. 1803." McMurtrie, *op. cit.* This, too, has become excessively rare. This writer has never seen a copy. It is practically certain that Roulstone published a law book as early as the first part of 1794. In the *Gazette* of January 30, it was announced that "the subscribers for the *Western Justice* are informed that the work is now in the press and will be completed with all possible dispatch." Acts of legislative assemblies aside, this was the first volume to appear in the Tennessee country. This is not noted in McMurtrie's *Early Printing in Tennessee.*

[23]George Roulstone and Elizabeth, a daughter of Devereaux Gilliam, were married in Knox County, May 1, 1794. The father of Elizabeth had settled on a large tract of land near the junction of the Holston and French Broad rivers in 1788, and he was among the most prosperous planters in his county. Hugh Dunlap, merchant, married a sister of Elizabeth and became the founder of a family of distinction in Tennessee. Among his children were: Gen. Richard G. Dunlap, who is said by Ramsey to have been the first white child born in Knoxville; William C. Dunlap, who was a circuit judge and a member of Congress from West Tennessee; Hugh W., John C. and others of recognized merit.

—and to pay court to the widow Roulstone. The two were married; and, under the laws of marriage in force at that time, Moore had control of his wife's property. He had served in the Revolutionary War as a North Carolina lieutenant-colonel, and is referred to in the records of that state as "Colonel Moore."[24] He was so called after he removed to Tennessee. He had been wounded in the knee in action, which rendered him lame for life. He was granted a pension by the State of North Carolina in 1782.[25]

Colonel Moore and his wife continued the publication of the *Gazette* in Knoxville for some years. However, George Wilson, who had earlier been a printer in Knoxville, returned, in November, 1804, to that field[26] and soon was the public printer. He must have pressed hard the Moores, who finally decided to move to Carthage, the former home of Moore. There they established the *Carthage Gazette*, August 13, 1808—that town's first newspaper. To supplement the meager income from the paper, Mrs. Moore kept a hotel of high repute, which was well patronized.

The Roulstone children: James G. Roulstone, the oldest of several children became a man of prominence. On November 3, 1814, he joined as a partner his step-father in conducting the *Carthage Gazette*. He had just returned from the Creek War in the Alabama country, where he had led a company as its captain. Bassett[27] states that the young officer's note to General Jackson was "the earliest recorded appearance of mutiny in Jackson's forces." In a short letter to the General, dated October 18, 1813, Roulstone wrote:

Dear General, With Reluctance and Disgrace I have to Inform you that after I Brought my company of Volunteers to Dittoes Landing I could not Prevail with more than six of them to Cross the river to preform the campaign, I Do not Pretend to Vindicate aneything about the Business. Only state that this is the last command that I shall Ever Pretend to take. The excuse was they had Enrol[ed] themselves for a tower of three months and they would not Go the campaign.[28]

Young Roulstone repented of his resolution that this would be the last command he would pretend to take. He advanced to the rank of lieutnant-colonel in the Tennessee militia, and fought in the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, as colonel of the Third Regiment of Gen. William Carroll's command. He seems never to have aspired to a political career.

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[24]*State Records of North Carolina*, XIX, 626.

[25]He was on the pension roll of the national government as Lt. Col. William Moore, of Smith County, and is noted as having died in 1823.

[26]Wilson, second in importance to Roulstone in the newspaper field, had in the meantime published in Jonesborough that town's first paper, the *Washington Advertiser*.

[27]J. S. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, I (Washington, 1926), 333.

[28]*Ibid.*

Some time between August, 1816 and July, 1817, the *Carthage Gazette* was published by Roulstone and Ford, John W. Ford having learned printing in the plant of that newspaper and been taken into partnership.

George Roulstone left a posthumous daughter, who married, at Carthage, James Beckwith, a New Englander who operated a wool-roll factory at Carthage, while his wife ran a hotel, of which an old citizen of Smith County wrote:

> It was of superior accommodations; the excellence of her table was a subject of universal commendation and Beckwith's was the goal of travelers. Mrs. Beckwith in her prime was far above the ordinary in natural endowment and acquired intelligence. She lived until well up in her eighties and retained her intellectual vigor and a remarkable memory.

It appears impossible at this date to determine exactly the number of children in George Roulstone's family. A petition filed in 1805 by William Moore as guardian of the children of Roulstone recited the names of all who were minors and wards at that time: Harriet C., Charlotte M., George, Jr., and Rachel. The executors of the will of Roulstone were also named: Deveraux Gilliam, John Lavender, and Hugh Dunlap. Seemingly, no family genealogy was ever attempted by descendants, who must be numerous in Tennessee and neighboring states.[29]

After the above sentence was written, the writer chanced to obtain an article by Edwin Wiley, a native of Knoxville,[30] in which he stated that one of Roulstone's descendants, "Mrs. James M. Bourne, who died November, 1906, left behind a mass of material regarding the Roulstone family. This material does not at the present appear to be accessible." An effort should be made to locate this material and secure copies, at least, for the McClung Collection in Knoxville. According to Wiley, the "Roulstone, or Rawlston family of New England is a collateral branch of the English family of Devereux, through which they claim descent from 'time honoured Lancaster', old John of Gaunt." Also that William Bradford Roulstone, at that time (1907) editor of the *Yale Monthly Magazine*, "is a descendant of the two pioneer editors of the Valley of the Mississippi"—George Roulstone and John Bradford of Lexington, Kentucky.

George Roulstone cannot be numbered among the Tennessee near-greats of his time. He was, however, far above mediocre; an intelligent and diligent worker in his chosen profession, who did

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[29] Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, of Knoxville, has done valuable work in uncovering in the courthouse at Knoxville this document and many others that had been locked from view by generations of the people of Knox County.

[30] "Eighteenth Century Presses in Tennessee,' in the *Proceedings* of the Bibliographical Society of America, II (1907-08), 70-83.

much to spread information and a degree of culture in a region which was yet on the frontier but which was growing fast in population and developing slowly but surely along economic lines. This was despite the fact that the men of the Tennessee country were, of necessity, largely drawn into military activities. The red menace near them continued until near the close of the eighteenth century.

Surely, the father of the Tennessee press and the printer and publisher of the first book printed in Tennessee deserves to emerge from the realm of shadowy figures.

THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF ANDREW JACKSON

By ARDA WALKER

An individual's religion is an abstract matter and often difficult to fathom. It has long been a tradition that Jackson was an irreligious man. Bassett believes that he probably resisted the call to conversion.[1] Documentary evidence, however, definitely disproves the contention that he was irreligious, and casts grave doubts upon his alleged resistance to the call of conversion except in so far as he felt it necessary while in public life to avoid charges of hyprocrisy.

Referring to Jackson during the War of 1812, Judge Harry Toulmin of the Mississippi Territory said that Jackson "regarded neither God nor man."[2] Jackson's correspondence during this era goes far toward disproving this statement. Perhaps it was during this period of his life that Jackson expressed most clearly his belief in providential interference in the affairs of men. Writing to Mrs. Jackson in 1813, he declared his faith in a Providence that willed to restore them to each other's arms, a Providence whose protecting hand could save "in storms, in battles, amidst the raging billows" and who "in the peaceful shade; in calm; in palaces" could destroy with his avenging hand.[3] Again in the following year he wrote, "With the blessing of kind providence, [I] will conquer my enemies, both foreing [foreign] and domestick."[4] Providence at this time must have appeared to him as a sort of an ally that constantly was concerned in his material well-being. Mrs. Jackson, a highly devout Christian, considered him sincere, for she wrote back in her illiterate manner, "How often I have thanked the supreme Governor that rules and Directs the just and virtuous you say his overruleing Power is more Conspicous in the field of battle then in our peacfull dwelings shurely that is Correct its Christian Like I Can almost say thou arte a Cristian"[5] Of course, this may have been wishful thinking on her part. Yet in writing to her it was always Providence that got the credit for his victories. While waiting to make an attack in August, Jackson wrote, "I pray you to be calm and Trust to that superintending being who has protected and saved

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[1]J. S. Bassett (ed.), *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-35), I, viii. Hereafter cited as *Correspondence.*

[2]Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, *Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British or the Mississippi Territory in the War of* 1812 (New York, 1926), 132.

[3]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, January 18, 1813, *Correspondence,* I, 272.

[4]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, January 28, 1814, *ibid.,* 447.

[5]Mrs. Jackson to Jackson, March 21, 1814, *ibid.,* 483.

me in the midst of so many dangers. . . ." [6]

These letters to Mrs. Jackson might be questioned as to their sincerity if there were not others written to friends not so deeply attached to religion as Mrs. Jackson. Writing to Governor David Holmes concerning the famous battle of January 8, 1815, Jackson maintained, "If ever there was an occassion on which Providence interfered, immediately, in the affairs of men it seems to have been on this." [7] Concerning the same battle, he wrote Colonel Robert Hays, "It appears that the unerring hand of providence shielded my men from the showers of Balls, bombs, and Rocketts, when every Ball and Bomb from our guns carried with them the mission of death." [8] He recommended that a day of thanksgiving be proclaimed by Abbe Dubourg, saying,

> Permit me therefore to entreat that you will cause the service of public thanksgiving to be performed in the Cathedral in token at once of the great assistance we have recd. from the *ruler of all Events* and of our humble sense of it.[9]

In politics as on the battlefield, Jackson believed that Providence had a hand in the acts and affairs of men. In the bank veto, in the "timely" death of President Harrison, and in the convention that nominated Polk (1844), he saw providential guidance.[10] He believed in a "Providence who holds our existence here in the hollow of his hand,"[11] a Providence that chastised people by means of removing members of their family or by bringing sickness upon them. Writing to his daughter-in-law, he said, "this chastisement by our Maker we ought to receive as a rebuke from him, and thank him for the Mildness of it—which was to bring to our view, and that it may be always before us, that we are mere tenants at will here. And we ought to live daily so as to be prepared to die." [12] To Robert J. Chester, he expressed almost the same sentiment in regard to the illness of a Mrs. Hayes. He trusted that she would be "prepared freely to resign this troublesome earthly tabernacle for an eternity of bliss, for which her present suffering is designed by her heavenly father to prepare her," and contended that she should be "resigned to her present suffering and chastisment." [13] God, to Jackson, was the avenging God of the Old Testament, a common concept at that time.

It is in relation to death and life thereafter that Jackson ex-

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[6] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, August 28, 1814, *ibid.*, II, 35.
[7] Jackson to Governor Holmes, January 18, 1815, *ibid.*, 145.
[8] Jackson to Col. Robert Hayes, January 26, 1815, *ibid.*, 153.
[9] Jackson to Abbe Guillaume Dubourg, January 19, 1815, *ibid.*, 150.
[10] *Niles' Register*, XXXII (July 14, 1832), 368; Jackson to Van Buren, November 25, 1841, *Correspondence*, VI, 128.
[11] Jackson to Mrs. A. J. Donelson, November 27, 1836, *ibid.*, V, 439.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Jackson to Robert J. Chester, August 8, 1833, *ibid.*, 149.

pressed his deepest religious sentiments. When Peter Cartwright came to Tennessee in 1816, and refused to preach in a Presbyterian church upon the invitation of Reverend Gideon Blackburn, the pastor of Jackson's church, Jackson condescended to attend the Methodist church in order to hear him. A few days later when a young lawyer interrogated Cartwright in Jackson's presence as to whether he believed in hell, he was answered in the affirmative. The young man exclaimed, "Well, I thank God I have too much good sense to believe any such thing!" Cartwright, wondering what to answer, was anticipated by Jackson, who said, "Well sir, I thank God that there is such a place of torment as hell . . . to put such d——d rascals as you are in, that oppose and vilify the Christian religion." [14] Jackson could use Presbyterian language, and he believed in future rewards and punishment.

To his ward, whose baby had just died, Jackson said, "It is probable you dotted upon him too much, to the neglect of him who gave you boon, and he has taken him from you, to bring to your view that to him your first love is due, and by this chastisement to bring you back to your duty to god. . . ." He ends with the comment of trust that "this babe is now in the boosom of its savior, and a sweet little angel in heaven." In this letter, as was the case in all of the numerous letters that he wrote relative to death, he admonished those to whom he wrote: "Let us not mourn for the dead but for the living." [15]

Death to him was merely a change to a happier life of immortality. Writing in 1829 to General Coffee, who was not an avowed Christian, he said, "As rational beings it behooves us so to live, as to be prepared for death when it comes, with a reasonable hope of happiness hereafter through the atonement of our blessed savior on the cross." [16] In comforting his adopted son and his ward upon the deaths of their wives, he expressed the hope that each had exchanged a "world of woe, for a world of eternal happiness." [17]

This unwavering belief in immortality is never so potently portrayed as in Jackson's own last days. Only twelve days before his death, when the thread of life was about to break, he wrote, "I am truly resigned to his will whatever it may be. He does all things well." [18] He expressed a desire to be buried in a humble depository near his wife where without pomp he wanted to be

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[14]Dr. W. A. Shaw as quoted in James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), II, 340-42.

[15]Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, January 25, 1835, *Correspondence*, V., 322.

[16]Jackson to Brigadier-General Coffee, January 17, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 1.

[17]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, December 31, 1836, *ibid.*, V, 442-43.

[18]Jackson to President Polk, May 26, 1845, *ibid.*, VI, 412.

laid to remain "until the last trumpet sounds to call the dead to judgement, when we, I hope shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all who believe in our glorious Redeemer, who died for us that we might live, and by whose atonement I hope for a blessed immortality." [19] It is an interesting fact that "I hope" appears twice in this quotation. If he had any doubts as to his own salvation, they seem to have been dispersed by the time of his death. Old Hannah, a slave, telling of Jackson's last moments, quoted him as saying, "I want all to prepare to meet me in Heaven; I have a right to the Tree of life. My conversation is for you all. Christ has no respect to color. I am in God and Gods in me. He dwelleth in me and I dwell in him." [20] To his adopted daughter-in-law he said, "Do not weep, my sufferings are less than those of Christ upon the Cross." His last words were reputed to have been "I trust to meet you all in heaven, both white and black—all, both white and black." [21]

Although Jackson did not become a church member until late in life, the church played an important part in his thinking. In the matter of church attendance, he was, compared with other men in public life, an excellent church-goer. One might choose as an example of his church attendance the two month period between December 7, 1823 and February 8, 1824, these months being selected because during this time Jackson was a senator at Washington, and Mrs. Jackson was at home in Nashville. Thus she could not have exercised an undue influence on his attendance through the necessity of his accompanying her to church. On December 7, he wrote, "Today being sunday I have spent at Church where I was edified with a very sensible discourse from a young presbeterian preacher." [22] Two weeks later from O'Neal's in Washington, he wrote,

> Every Sunday we spend at church. This family belong to the methodist society. on last Sunday as I named to you I went with Mrs. Watson to her church, she belongs to the Presbeterians, to day I went to hear a Baptist whose church is near us, and was edified by a good concise discourse, so my dear you see, that notwithstanding I am in the midst of intrigue, gaiety and bustle, I spend my Sundays and leisure hours agreably, and I hope profitably." [23]

The following week he wrote, "Major Eaton and myself attended the Methodist church today with the family in which we live, and

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[19] Jackson to Jesse Duncan Elliott, March 27, 1845, *ibid.*, 391-92.

[20] "Old Hannah's Narrative of the last days of Jackson told by William G. Terrill," *ibid.*, 415.

[21] "George Bancroft's Eulogy," B. M. Dusenbery, *Monument to the Memory of General Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1845), 49, 50.

[22] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 7, 1823, *Correspondence*, III, 215.

[23] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 21, 1823, *ibid.*, 218.

were agreably entertained with an excellent sermon." [24] The next week it is the same story of church attendance. "I had the pleaure of hearing Mr. Laurie [minister of the Presbyterian Church] preach last Sunday, I think him of good capacity, and an impressive speaker." [25] On February 8, 1824, there was a letter to Mrs. Jackson from John Eaton that is very revealing:

> Would you believe it we are so depraved as scarcely ever to go to church, unless to the Capitol where visits are made rather for the purpose of shewing ones self, than that any pious feeling prompts; and then it has such an air of fashion, and shew to go there; more like going in to a theatre than to the house of worship. Oh we are truly a wonderous set; not much inferior to the good people of Sodom and Gomorrah spoken of in olden times who perished, not on account of their virtues. In this list the Genl is not included, for every Sunday he takes himself to some one of the churches, and returns again about 1 Oclock. Now while writing to you, he is off, attending the admonitory voice of some good Divine.

To this Jackson appended, "Having returned from church, our friend handed me this letter to put a P.S. to; I have only to say that it is true." [26] These bits of evidence show that at least six out of nine Sundays in succession Jackson attended church, and in all probability, the other three Sundays were spent likewise, as is intimated by Eaton's letter. It is interesting, too, to note that he attended the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches.

While Jackson was president he contributed to the support of two churches—the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian. Pew rent receipts indicate, for instance, that on September 8, 1829, he paid $26 for a pew in "Mr. Post's Church"; April 1, 1832, $7.50 for six month's rent in the Second Presbyterian Church. $13 was given at the St. Johns (Episcopal) Church for the quarter ending December 31, 1834. On the same day he paid rent for a pew in the First Presbyterian Church. He continued to pay rent for pews at these two churches to the end of his term as president.[27]

Jackson, an ardent church-goer and church supporter, delayed becoming a church member until late in life. Writing to his friend John Coffee in 1827, he stated that he rejoiced that Polly, Coffee's daughter, had joined the church. "It is what we all ought to do," he continued, "but men in public business has too much on their minds to conform to the rules of the church, which has prevented me hitherto." [28] This is an interesting comment in view of Jackson's later excuses for not having joined the church early in life. However, it indicates that the General did not

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[24] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 28, 1823, *ibid.*, 220.
[25] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, January 5, 1824, *ibid.*, 222.
[26] John H. Eaton to Mrs. Jackson, February 8, 1824, *ibid.*, 225.
[27] *Ibid.*, IV, 215 and note.
[28] Jackson to John Coffee, 1827, *ibid.*, III, 388.

feel church membership should be taken lightly.

Two years later, in a somewhat different tone, he admonished Captain John Donelson to "withdraw from the busy cares of this world, and put your house in order for the next, by laying hold 'of the one thing needful.' go read the Scriptures, the joyful promises it contains will be balsome to all your troubles, and create for you a kind of heaven." [29] Upon the death of John Coffee, Jackson wrote to Coffee's daughter, Mary, "True religion, is calculated to make us not only happy in this, but in the next and a better world." Thus Jackson felt that it was to be regretted that Coffee had not joined the church, a fact which should be profitable "admonition to his family, that they may all become members of the church, at an early day, for it is in religion alone that we can find consolation for such bereavements at the loss of our dear friends." Then follows what seems to be of primary importance in religion to Jackson. "It is religion alone that can give peace to us here, and happiness beyond the grave. it is religion alone that can support us in our declining years, when our relish is lost for all sublunary enjoyments, and all things are seen in their true light, as mere vanity and vexation of spirit." [30] In view of these and other statements made by Jackson it would be unjust to say that to him religion seemed a matter to be respected in old age, as if it were a lounging robe to don in retirement for one's comfort, and one might add—protection, but the question is often raised none the less.

Even at this time, 1833, Jackson, himself, was outside the church. It was not until July, 1838 that he joined the Presbyterian church at Nashville. A letter to W. P. Lawrence gives his avowed reasons for his tardiness in joining:

> I would long since have made this solemn *public* dedication to almighty God, but knowing the wickedness of this world and how prone many are to evil, that the scoffer of religion would have cryed out hypocracy—*he has joined the church for political effect,* I thought it best to postpone this public act, until my retirement to the shades of private life, when no false imputations could be made that might be injurious to religion." [31]

While directly opposed to his statements to John Coffee in 1827, in which he gave as his reasons for not becoming a church member the fact that he was too busy, this sentiment is consistent with the reason given by Jackson twelve years before, when he declined to give an address to the Davidson County Bible Society. "Under existing circumstances," he explained, "was such an address to go forth to the world, I might be charged by my political enemies with having come forth hypocritically under the sacred

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[29] Jackson to Captain John Donelson, June 7, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 41.
[30] Jackson to Mary Coffee, August 15, 1833, *ibid.*, V, 158.
[31] Jackson to W. P. Lawrence, August 24, 1838, *ibid.*, 565.

garb of religion thus to electioneer—never having worn this mask I cannot permit myself to appear in a attitude which might justify my enemies in raising imputations." On the other hand, he stated, there was nothing he would not do to "prosper the great and good cause of christianity," if he could do it with propriety.[32] Through Rachel, Jackson had become acquainted with Gideon Blackburn, and his influence made of the General an observer of the Sabbath while he was governor of the Florida Territory, much to the dismay of the Spanish inhabitants. Jackson "had thought the matter over and privately professed, promising to join the church as soon as he was no longer a candidate for public office." [33] It is a bit puzzling that he should postpone a thing of such seeming importance to him, especially since during the last thirty years of his life, he was convinced that he was on the brink of the grave.

An endorsement to a letter written to a Mr. Kilman some time after Jackson had joined the church, stated: "My god knows whether I have or not always acknowledged, a Saviour with a firm belief in the Scriptures, therefore I care not what men think on this important subject."[34] After he had become a church member, Jackson received the sacrament regularly, it being administered in his chamber two weeks before his death. One writer maintains that Jackson was a ruling elder in the church when he died.[35] Parton is probably more nearly correct in saying that Jackson declined the nomination for the position of elder because he was "too young in the church for such an office."[36]

During his lifetime, Jackson was connected with several benevolent projects of the church. Seven men of whom Jackson was one pledged $680 for the erection of a school and a meeting-house in Nashville. Jackson was deeply interested in this project. In 1823 he wrote to Mrs. Jackson, "In your next advise me how the church progresses. I hope it is finished, present me to Col. Ward and family, and say to him I expect he will attend to it, that it must be finished if him and myself pay for it."[37] Jackson also displayed a benevolent attitude toward church institutions. The Reverend Thomas Brainerd of Philadelphia stated in a discourse in 1845 that

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[32] Jackson to Committee of the Davidson County Bible Society, September 30, 1826, *ibid.*, III, 315. It is an interesting fact that Henry Clay, who also did not join the church until late in life, expressed the same reason for his delay. See Parton, *op. cit.*, III, 642.

[33] V. M. Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 6 (1934), p. 25.

[34] *Correspondence*, VI, 416.

[35] F. J. Klingberg and Andrew Jackson IV, "The Americanism of Andrew Jackson," reprinted from the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI, No. 2 (April, 1922), 134.

[36] Parton, *op. cit.*, III, 648.

[37] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 21, 1823 *Correspondence*, III, 219. See also *ibid.*, V, 565, note.

a clergyman then living in New York City had said that while touring Tennessee twenty-five years before to obtain funds to build up the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Maryville, "General Jackson was his best auxiliary. He gave him one hundred dollars most cheerfully, and volunteered a letter to all his friends in the South and West, urging the building up of such seminaries as indispensable to the well-being of the country."[38]

Jackson did not believe in religious sectarianism. One might be justified somewhat in contending that Jackson's religion was catholic and that he, like the Great Emancipator, belonged to no particular denomination. Writing to a Reverend Ely, he said:

> Having been educated and brought up under the discipline of the Presbyterian rule (my mother being a member of that church)I have always had a preference for it. Among the greatest blessings secured to us under our Constitution, is the liberty of worshiping God as our conscience dictates. All true Christians love each other and while here below ought to harmonize; for all must unite in the realms above. I have thought one evidence of true religion is, when all those who believe in the atonement of our crucified Savior are found in harmony and friendship together.[39]

In 1831 it was charged that a meeting in Washington to promote the Sunday Schools in the Mississippi Valley was sectarian. Jackson was under the impression that it was a movement for the disseminating "of the Gospel by a *union of all Christians* in the valley of the Mississippi," and that the circulation of the "Bible, the education of the poor, and an observance of the Sabbath by the children might be beneficial to their morals." Continuing, he asserted:

> I do not believe, that any, who shall be so fortunate as to be received to heaven, thro the atonement of our blessed Savior will be asked whether they belonged to the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Episcopalian, Baptist or Roman catholic. . . . Freedom and an established religion are incompatible with each other.[40]

On one occasion a girl wrote Jackson in distress because her grandmother believed Jackson to be at heart a "Roman," and feared he would sanction the "Inquisition" in the United States. After reaffirming his Presbyterian beliefs, and stating that the Constitution guarantees to every one freedom of religion, Jackson asserted that charity was the basis of all true religion. "We ought therefore to consider all good Christians, whose walks correspond with their professions, be him Presbeterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, methodist or Roman catholic." He reassured her that her grandmother should remember "that no established religion can exist under our glorious

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[38]"A Sermon Preached by Reverend Thomas Brainerd, July 6, 1845," Dusenbery, *op. cit.*, 363.

[39]Jackson to Dr. Ely, July 12, 1827, quoted in S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1921), II, 406.

[40]Jackson to W. B. Conway, April 4, 1831, *Correspondence*, IV, 256.

constitution."[41] Jackson was no narrow sectarian.

The earliest contact that Jackson had with the church, as revealed by documentary evidence, came at the point at which the church touched the state. Jackson in 1796 was a member of the convention that formed the constitution for the newly formed state of Tennessee. Article VIII of that constitution had to do with religious exemptions from military service and exclusion of religious leaders from the state offices. Jackson was of the conviction that section 1 of the article, prohibiting ministers or priests from holding a civil or military office or a place of trust, should be stricken out. When this motion failed to pass, he seconded another to strike out the latter phrase, prohibiting religious leaders from holding any position in the government, and substituting the phrase that they should be ineligible "to a seat in either branch in the legislature."[42] The motion carried. Jackson evidently felt that religious affiliations should not be a deterrent to holding office.

Another motion was made to prohibit a person from holding office who denied the "being of God and future rewards and punishments or the divine authority of the Old and New Testament." This was amended so as to omit the words "or the divine authority of the Old and New Testament." Jackson voted for the amendment, which carried 27 to 26,[43] an additional evidence that Jackson did not want anything that savored of an established church. This should be remembered in connection with Jackson's later policy in regard to Florida, when he provided by law for the observance of the Christian Sabbath.

Jackson opposed military exemptions for religious reasons. A motion was introduced in the convention to strike out section 2 of article VIII, which provided that men whose religious tenets were opposed to bearing arms should be immune to attendance or fines for non-attendance at military practices. Jackson voted against the motion but the following day, consistent with his usual policy of inconsistency, he moved that the very same section be stricken out.[44]

While governor of Florida, although an act of Congress guaranteed freedom of religion to the people of that territory, Jackson's first ordinance provided that:

As the Christian Sabbath is observed throughout the civilized world, it is ordained that, in order to remove any doubt which might be entertained with respect to the powers of the mayor and council on this subject, the

[41] Jackson to Ellen M. Hanson, March 25, 1835, *ibid.*, V, 333.

[42] *Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention began and held at Knoxville, January* 11, 1796 (Knoxville, George Roustone, 1796, reprinted by McKennie and Brown, Nashville, 1852), 18, 23.

[43] *Ibid.*, 23-24.

[44] *Ibid.*, 27-29.

said mayor and council be authorized to make any regulations on the observance thereof *which they deem proper.*[45]

This ordinance is not exactly compatible with the doctrine of religious freedom. As Jackson's enemies pointed out, the council might "deem it proper" to shut up Catholic churches for the observance of Sunday. It was employed, however, to close theaters and gambling houses. Mrs. Jackson was undoubtedly behind this edict. She desired, and Jackson decreed, that the dens of iniquity be closed on Sunday.[46] It might be stated here that Mrs. Jackson exercised considerable influence over the General's religious life. However, her influence should not be exaggrated. It was not sufficient, it must be remembered, to compel Jackson to join the church during her lifetime. He delayed this until ten years after her death.

In religion Jackson was, in regard to the Church's relationship to the state, a republican, believing in complete separation of the two and in freedom of religion. As a doctrinarian, he was Presbyterian, with certain limitations, believing that every man has a chance for his own salvation. While he remained to the last something of a puzzle as to the part religion genuinely played in his life as an individual, one is forced to believe that he held strong religious convictions, and late in life acted on these convictions.

[45] Parton, *op. cit.*, II, 608.
[46] A. S. Colyar, *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson* (Nashville, 1904), II, 516.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF A FEMALE ACADEMY: THE KNOXVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY, 1811-1846 THE EAST TENNESSEE FEMALE INSTITUTE, 1846-1911

By Laura E. Luttrell[1]

In earlier times the female academies and colleges in Tennessee were all private institutions dependent upon generous and patriotic citizens for support. These schools provided educational facilities for the young womanhood of the state prior to the time when schools and universities began to be supported wholly, or in part, by state, county, city and federal funds—before any school was sufficiently endowed. Today there are no female schools so named. The term female has been discontinued. Instead there are now schools for girls, colleges for women and co-educational institutions.

In 1803 the Fisk Female Academy was founded at Hilham, Overton County, Middle Tennessee, by Moses Fisk,[2] an early settler from New England. A charter of incorporation was granted the Academy by the general assembly of Tennessee in 1806. The charter stated that the Academy was "for females exclusively." This was the first such school established in the state, and it is said to have been the third in the United States.[3] The Fisk Female Academy flourished until 1830 when the buildings were burned.

Blount College, established in 1794 at Knoxville, in the early nineteenth century admitted five young women students[4] and thus became the first co-educational institution of higher learning in the United States. However, this plan for the education of women was abandoned in 1807,[5] not to be adopted again until eighty-six years later. In recent years the University of Tennessee, which had its beginning as Blount College, has erected five residence halls named

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[1]This paper was read in part before the East Tennessee Historical Society at its meeting, April 7, 1944.

[2]Moses Fisk was a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard. He and Sampson Williams contributed, each, 1000 acres of land for the benefit of the Academy. I. F. Simmons, *Private Chartered Educational Institutions of Tennessee.* George Peabody College for Teachers, *Contributions to Education,* No. 148 (Nashville, 1934), 148-49.

[3]The first two were in Massachusetts. *Ibid.,* 110.

[4]Moses White, *Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1879), 14.

[5]S. J. Folmsbee (ed.), "The Laws of East Tennessee College, 1821," East Tenn. Hist. Soc. *Publications,* No. 16 (1944), 97-98.

in honor of those first women students.[6]

At that early time the idea prevailed that young women should be taught the finer arts and graces; that separate schools in which much importance would be attached to the ornamental branches should be maintained for them. With this aim in view, academies for females were established in many of the towns of the state. It was a continual struggle for the trustees to obtain support for these institutions, and the Knoxville Female Academy, chartered by the Tennessee general assembly, November 11, 1811, was no exception. Ten trustees were named.[7] It is evident, however, that this first attempt on the part of a group of men to promote and finance the Academy was not successful.[8] Though the first trustees were men of zeal for the cause, it was not until sixteen years later that a successful academy was established by the aid of some of the same trustees.

In 1826 East Tennessee College, formerly Blount College, purchased Barbara Hill and began the construction of a new building on the site now occupied by Ayres Hall, the main building of the present University. This evidence of a real determination to place the college for young men upon a permanent basis gave impetus to a renewed effort on the part of the citizens to make a success of the female academy which had seemed doomed to failure. In the Knoxville *Register*, April 4, 1827, the editor called upon those interested in such an undertaking to re-establish the institution in order that their daughters should not "by their ignorance disgrace the finished education of their sons." This plea was acted upon immediately by a group of citizens who determined to begin a school without delay. Attendance of pupils was solicited, a house rented[9] and members of a faculty selected.

On April 28, 1827, at a meeting of the subscribers, members of a board of trustees were appointed to act until a new charter could be procured.[10] The services of the Reverend John Davis, "an eminent divine of superior qualifications and finished education,"[11] Mrs. Davis and Miss Adaline Morse were engaged as superintendent

[6]Jenny (Jane Crozier) Armstrong, daughter of James (Trooper) Armstrong, married William Park, merchant. Barbara Blount, daughter of William Blount, territorial governor, married General Edmund P. Gaines. Kittie (Katherine) Kain, daughter of John Kain, married Enoch Parsons. Mattie (Martha) Kain, sister of Kittie, married Robert King, merchant. Polly (Mary Lawson) McClung, daughter of Charles McClung, married Thomas L. Williams.

[7]Thomas McCorry, Thomas Humes, James Park, John Crozier, George Wilson, Joseph C. Strong, Nathaniel Cowan, Thomas Emmerson, Calvin Morgan and Hugh L. White. Edward Scott (ed.), *Laws of Tennessee*, II, 62.

[8]Knoxville *Register*, April 4, 1827.

[9]Owned by J. C. Strong. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 8. (The original Minutes are filed in the University of Tennessee Library.)

[10]*Ibid.*, 2.

[11]Knoxville *Register*, May 2, 1827.

and instructors. Mr. Davis agreed to take the tuition fees of subscribers as compensation for himself and also for the salaries of Mrs. Davis and Miss Morse. An outline of the various branches to be taught and the amount of tuition to be paid was decided upon. The beginning was scheduled for Monday, May 7, 1827. Miss Mary Littleford, of Charlottesville, Virginia, was engaged in July to teach music and other branches if there should be time. She was to furnish the piano and to receive a salary of $500 a year. The first public semi-annual examination was held October 3, 1827. A "numerous and intelligent audience, all of whom were highly delighted, attended." All members of the faculty were praised; also, the performance of the students.[12] The second semi-annual examination was held March 28, 1828.

By this time the trustees were eager to procure a successor to Reverend John Davis. Dissatisfaction was caused, in part, by the Principal's lack of interest in the ornamental branches of study. On several occasions the board of trustees had endeavored to have the music teacher give more time to the music pupils[13] and less time to other classes. Hence they began a correspondence with others for the purpose of securing a principal of the Academy who would be willing to accede to their plans. It was also necessary to procure someone else to head the music department as Miss Littleford had married Andrew McMillan, treasurer of the board of trustees. Furthermore, extra room was necessay; so an agreement with the trustees of the East Tennessee College to lease the old college building foı three months or longer was made.[14] Thus young women again were taught in the building erected for males.

Joseph Estabrook, a graduate of Dartmouth College, was elected by the trustees as principal in 1828. The arrival of the Estabrook family that year was announced with expressions of complete satisfaction.[15] In December the first term under the superintendence of Joseph Estabrook began. Mrs. Nancy D. Estabrook and Miss Lucinda Dickinson were assistants and Miss Margaret Stephens had charge of the music department.

Meanwhile, the trustees had procured a new charter,[16] October 22, 1827, and made plans for the construction of a building. After

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[12]Knoxville *Register,* Oct. 10, 1827. An incomplete roster of the first students: Margaret Armstrong, Sarah M. Brown, Mary Campbell, Jane Cox, Mary Ann Cox, Martha Howell, Susan E. Lyon, Margaret McClung, Catharine McFarland, Martha P. McNair, Peggy Ann Morgan, Susan C. Morgan, Nancy Morgan, Roberta Parham, Harriet Park, Mary Park, Catherine A. Strong, Mary Strong, Cynthia S. White, Cynthia W. White, Margaret A. White, Margaret J. White, Cornelia Williams, Mary C. Williams, Rebecca L. Williams.

[13]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 4-6.

[14]*Ibid.,* 9.

[15]Knoxville *Register,* Nov. 19, 1828.

[16]*Private Acts of Tennessee,* 1827, p. 16.

devising a plan for the edifice, they appointed a committee to contract for the building according to the plans specified and to solicit subscriptions to pay the contracting firm. On July 26, 1828 two lots, containing an acre of land on the *present* Henley Street with corners on Main Avenue and Hill Street, were purchased from Joseph C. Strong and Matthew McClung. Each owner was to receive $100 for his lot.[17] However, when a subscription for the erection of a building was being made, these men donated the lots.[18] Altogether fifty-three contributions for the building and a fence to enclose the lots were made. John Crozier and Charles McClung each gave two hundred dollars, while a number of citizens gave one hundred dollars each. The contract for the erection of a two-story brick building was awarded to Crew and Mason.[19] The work was executed with such speed that the academy building was ready for occupancy in the summer of 1829. It is thus described in the Knoxville *Register,* April 8, 1829: "The building is handsomely situated and is completely finished containing rooms to accommodate two hundred pupils in the various branches of education."

On September 30, 1829 the charters of the Knoxville Female Academy passed in 1811 and 1827 by the state were repealed and a final act of incorporation enacted. The board of trustees, which was to have perpetual succession, was constituted as follows: Joseph C. Strong, Hugh L. White, Robert King,[20] James Park, Frederick S. Heiskell, Matthew McClung, Solomon D. Jacobs, William S. Howell, Andrew McMillan and William C. Mynatt. All of these and others had been named in the act of 1827. The following officers were elected: Joseph C. Strong, president, Frederick S. Heiskell, secretary, and Andrew McMillan, treasurer. The trustees took the oath administered by James Park, justice of the peace of Knox County.[21] This board then re-engaged the same principal and instructors and approved a contract which the Principal had made with Miss Mary M. Moore, a teacher of music. Two additional buildings, one for the ornamental branches and the other for use in giving scientific lectures, were contemplated.[22] The citizens, with assistance from friends at a distance, contributed liberally for the erection of these needed buildings.

No sooner was the building to accommodate the music department nearing completion than those who already had contributed so much were called upon to make donations for the purchase of

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[17]Knox County Deed Book, E (2) Vol. I, 337, 339.
[18]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 18.
[19]*Ibid.*, 10.
[20]Robert King resigned as a trustee, Sept. 9, 1830. *Ibid.*, 23.
[21]*Ibid.*, 20.
[22]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 23.

a piano.[23] Also $141.00, the balance due the music teacher for the year 1829-1830, had to be made up by the trustees.

At this time students were grouped into four classes:[24] preparatory, junior, middle and senior. Pupils in the primary department were taught spelling, reading, geography, arithmetic and writing. To the junior class was added grammar and mythology. The middle class continued arithmetic and geography (with map drawing and use of the globe) and had history, natural philosophy, rhetoric and botany. The senior class continued rhetoric and had chemistry, astronomy, logic and mental and moral philosophy. The ornamental branches included music (piano), painting, drawing, lace making and sewing. A course of experimental lectures on natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy was given. All students were required to write a composition once in two weeks and to have a weekly recitation on the Sacred Scriptures. A diploma was awarded those "young ladies" who completed the senior course.

Tuition per term for regular courses was from $10 to $15; for music, $20; for painting, $10 to $20; for drawing and needle work, $5 each. There was a small fee for firewood. Extravagance of every kind was discouraged. Boarding in "genteel families" could be had at $1.50 per week.[25] There were specific regulations in regard to social affairs. To attend any ball, or public dancing party, was forbidden,[26] though the rule was suspended on occasions.[27]

At the public examination, September 30, 1831, diplomas were received by ten students.[28] The address delivered by the principal, Joseph Estabrook, was published in the Knoxville *Register*. In 1832 there were five graduates,[29] and Solomon D. Jacobs, trustee, delivered the commencement address. The success of the Academy served to increase the already firm purpose of the trustees and patrons to sustain the institution to the utmost degree. In November, 1834 Joseph Estabrook resigned the principalship to become president of East Tennessee College. However, the popularity of this school, enrolling students from fifteen counties in the state and from a number of states bordering on Tennessee, was widespread. Having been placed in a flourishing condition during the six years that Joseph Estabrook had charge, it was able to continue, with only brief intervals when there was the lapse of a session, until com-

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[23]*Ibid.*, 24.

[24]*Catalogue*, 1830, 1831.

[25]Knoxville *Register*, April 8, May 20, 1829, Oct. 20, 1830.

[26]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 24.

[27]*Ibid.*, 26. Students were permitted to attend a dance on one Friday night.

[28]Sarah K. Boyd, Margaret M. Coffin, Elizabeth F. Cox, Hannah W. Crozier, Malinda J. Francis, Mary F. Jackson, Margaret W. Lindsay, Ann E. Park, Adaline Roberts, Cornelia Williams. Knoxville *Register*, Oct. 5, 1831.

[29]Sophia Moody Park, Eliza Jane Boothe, Minerva T. Veal, Lavinia M. McGhee, Harriet N. Bogle. *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1832.

pelled to close during the military occupation of the city from the autumn of 1863 to 1865.

From the autumn of 1834 until the winter of 1841 the principals of the Academy were Reverend Henry Herrick, to October, 1838; Miss Sarah C. Greenough and Mrs. Nancy D. Estabrook, each in charge for one term; and Reverend James B. Townsend, from October, 1839 until 1841. During the administration of Principal Townsend it was ordered that instruction in the French language should be given at the price of $8 per session.[30]

In 1841 there was a reorganization of the Academy. It "was taken under the wing" of the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[31] In September of this year the board of trustees met to consider propositions by Reverend Creed Fulton showing that the Holston Conference would patronize the Academy on condition that the Conference have a share in its control by a representation of four members on the board of trustees and a board of nine visitors; that the trustees and visitors would constitute a joint board for the election of principal and teachers. As it was considered important that a suitable boarding house, a good library and apparatus for the teaching of science be acquired, the board of trustees pledged themselves to cooperate with an agent appointed by the Conference for the purpose of soliciting contributions for these improvements.[32]

A copy of these proceedings was presented to the session of the Conference held at Rogersville the following October and there referred to a committee. This committee recommended that the Conference accede to the proposals except that, because of pecuniary commitments already assumed by the Conference, it could not appoint an agent to travel and collect funds for the erection of a boarding house, the assembling of a library and the purchase of scientific apparatus until the existing obligations have been met. A copy of the resolutions of the Conference was sent to the trustees for ratification.[33]

In the spring of 1842 Reverend Joseph E. Douglass was elected principal by the joint board and served until July 26, 1843. In September, 1843 Reverend David Rice McAnally was elected principal of the Academy. He formulated twelve rules for the guidance of the students. One of these was that no student would be permitted to do any shopping or contract debts without the consent of

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[30]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 36.
[31]R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism,* III (Nashville, 1908), 390.
[32]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 37-41.
[33]D. R. McAnally in Knoxville *Register,* Feb. 17, 1847.

THE TRUSTEES

OF THE

EAST TENNESSEE FEMALE INSTITUTE.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME,

GREETING:

Be it Known, That Miss *Ann Maria Pell*

having honorably passed through the prescribed Course of Studies in this Institution, is entitled to, and has received from us, the Degree of MISTRESS OF POLITE LITERATURE. Together with all the Rights, Honors and Privileges thereto belonging, either here or elsewhere.

In Testimony Whereof, We have hereunto affixed the Seal of the Institute.

Given the 26th day of July 1849.

David Rice McAnally

Principal

parents or guardian.[34] The Principal's address, delivered[35] at the beginning of his first term, produced a feeling of confidence that "his zeal and qualifications would place the Academy high on the list of institutions of learning." This proved to be the case. He gave assurance that the school would be "free from sectarian partialities." He was interested in assembling a collection to form a scientific cabinet for the institution and, at his solicitations, valuable donations of specimens of minerals and other objects were made by friends in Tennessee and North Carolina.[36] He had a few students boarding in his home and in 1849 removed to a larger house in which there were accommodations for twenty students.[37]

On July 30, 1844 Trustee Solomon D. Jacobs presented to the board a resolution stating that the time had arrived when an agent to travel and solicit subscriptions for the erection of a boarding house and the formation of a library should be appointed by the Holston Conference as agreed upon. Soon thereafter the Conference proposed that Reverend Timothy Sullins be appointed agent, and to that choice the board of trustees assented and pledged cooperation.[38]

On January 31, 1846 the name of the Knoxville Female Academy was changed by an act of the Tennessee general assembly to that of "the East Tennessee Female Institute." The act also provided that "the trustees of the said East Tennessee Institute shall have the power to confer degrees as the trustees of the East Tennessee University have." The name was formally adopted by the trustees and it was resolved that the degree of "Mistress of Polite Literature" be conferred upon each member of the graduating class.[39]

Soon after this there developed a growing dissatisfaction on the part of a number of citizens because of the dual control of the Institute. They objected that any church "judiciary should have control over a school built up by general contribution." Therefore, in 1847, a petition to sever the connection with the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was presented to the board of trustees.[40] The board then declared the connection dissolved, to take effect at the close of the school term, when the old board of trustees would assume exclusive control. It was requested

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[34]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 43, 48-49.
[35]Knoxville *Register*, Nov. 15, 1843.
[36]*The Post* (Knoxville), Feb. 7, 1844.
[37]Knoxville *Register*, Nov. 8, 1844; *Methodist Episcopalian*, Feb. 27, 1849.
[38]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 53.
[39]*Ibid.*, 62, 65. The *Knoxville Female Seminary* is not to be confused with the Knoxville Female Academy. The former was founded by Rev. R. B. McMullen in 1846 and was in existence about eight years.
[40]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 66-68.

that Reverend D. R. McAnally continue as principal of the Institute.[41] In 1848 a resolution was passed by the trustees that not more than two persons of any one religious denomination should thereafter be employed to teach at the same time.[42] Considerable inconvenience was sometimes caused by this regulation. In August, 1850 Mrs. W. G. McAdoo was recommended and nominated as a music instructor, but her name had to be withdrawn because of the above rule. However, in September, 1851, the handicap having been removed, she was unanimously elected to take charge of the music department.[43]

At the time of the change of name of the Academy the report of the committee on revision of the course of study and designation of textbooks[44] was adopted. The classes were grouped as preparatory, sophomore, junior and senior. Degrees were conferred upon the seniors in 1846[45] and in following years. In 1849 fifteen young women graduated and presented to Reverend D. R. McAnally a silver cup.[46] One senior who received the degree of "Mistress of Polite Literature" that year was Ann Maria Bell,[47] daughter of Samuel Bell, a Knoxville jeweler. In 1850 the graduates were Margaret H. White, Isabelle M. White, Theodosia A. Findley and Harriet A. Parker. In 1851 ten graduates were presented by Principal McAnally.[48] In this year he resigned the principalship that he had filled with ability and success and accepted an appointment as agent for the American Colonization Society. In 1852 he became editor of the *St. Louis Christian Advocate*.[49]

Mr. J. H. Dean became the next principal and had associated with him the Reverend George Cooke, of Amherst.[50] The residence of the Honorable E. Alexander, near the Institute, was purchased and a boarding house established. Mrs. M. G. Cooke was desig-

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[41]*Ibid.*, 69-72.

[42]*Ibid.*, 78.

[43]*Ibid.*, 97. First wife of Prof. W G. McAdoo; name was Anna C. Horsley.

[44]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 59-61. The texts and courses include: Webster's Spelling book, Mitchell's Geography and Atlas, Emmerson's Arithmetic, Blake's Astronomy, McIlvane's Evidence of Christianity, Paley's Natural Theology, Comstock's Physiology, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Elements of Criticism, Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Grigg & Elliott's Common School Reader, Smith's Grammar, Worcester's Natural Philosophy, Blair's Rhetoric, Hedge's Logic, Northend's Bookkeeping, Wayland's Moral Science, Burnett's Geography of the Heavens, Mrs. Philip's Botany, Smallie's Philosophy of Natural History, Willard's Ancient Geography, Adam's Arithmetic, Upham's Mental Philosophy, Heath's Mythology, Davies' Algebra, Andrew & Stoddard's Latin Grammar, Meadow's Dictionary, etc.

[45]*Ibid.*, 76.

[46]*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, Aug. 11, 1849.

[47]Original diploma owned by Miss Mabell W. Mitchell, Knoxville.

[48] Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 94: S. K. Boyd, E. J. Henry, M. I. White, J. J. Franklin, E. L. James, M. E. James, J. L. Rives, L. T. McClung, C. H. White, F. S. Garrett. Their names were so recorded in the Minutes.

[49]*Holston Christian Advocate*, Apr. 29, 1851, Jan. 30, 1852.

[50]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 97-99.

nated as matron and "superintendent of social duties."[51] Reverend George Cooke resigned in 1853 to accept the presidency of East Tennessee University. Mr. and Mrs. Dean continued to conduct the school and boarding house until August, 1855. Misses C. M. Melville and Miss Eliza J. Gay, who had been conducting a private school, were elected as co-principals and remained one year.[52]

In July, 1856 R. L. Kirkpatrick, A.M., who had been a member of the faculty of East Tennessee University, was elected principal for a term of ten years.[53] He carried on the school with much zeal, tact and devotion. In the spring of 1863, determined that the young women should continue their education, he had Reverend David Sullins associated with him and the prospects were good. However, some time later the approach of Federal troops toward Knoxville forced the Institute to close its doors. The property was taken possession of by military authorities and used as a hospital until the end of 1864.[54]

In January, 1865, at the request of the board of trustees, the United States provost marshall relinquished the East Tennessee Female Institute property and agreed to repair the damages sustained during its occupation by the United States military authorities. The board then leased the property to Reverend John F. Spence for the purposes of conducting a school for "young ladies and girls." Principal Spence employed a competent corps of teachers and the Institute was well patronized.[55] From 1867 to June, 1870 the board continued to lease the property, and schools were conducted by N. D. Parkhurst, M. C. Wilcox, Miss Julia J. Bennett and a Miss Morgan, respectively. In some instances these schools were public in character.[56]

During the period from June, 1870 until the latter part of 1876, the school was again under the control of the board, and Professor M. C. Butler conducted the Female Institute with enthusiasm and success.[57] He secured the services of Professor G. R.

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[51]*Holston Christian Advocate,* Oct. 19, 1852.

[52]Minutes, 102-07. See also Hall-Stakely Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).

[53]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 109-12. Some graduates, 1858-61: Minerva L. Baker, Anna H. Boyd, Jane T. Hayne, Margaret E. Lewis, Eleanor W. White, Rhoda A. Dodge, Addie L. Holston, Elizabeth S. Luttrell, Margaret P. White, Melinda W. Baker, Rachel M. Davis, Mary E. Jackson, Sally Kennedy, Sophia Moody White, Amanda M. White, Mary Thompson.

[54]Knoxville *Register,* May 20, 1862, February 3, 1863; S. C. Williams (ed.), "Journal of Events of David Anderson Deaderick," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 102; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 114. The evidence of use by the Confederate authorities is inconclusive.

[55]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 114. Graduates of 1866 were Missie A. Ault, Belle Swan, Hessie Stuart and Loretta Cunningham.

[56]*Ibid.,* 116-20, 127; *Knoxville City Directory,* 1869-70.

[57]Knoxville *Daily Chronicle,* Jan. 21, 1872.

Knabe for the music department, and the music students appreciated his instruction so much that upon the occasion of his leaving for a stay at Ghent, Belgium, they presented him a gold-headed cane.[58]

In 1876 Frederick S. Heiskell was the only original trustee yet belonging to the board and, upon the resignation of George M. White as president, he was elected to that office.[59] He served until his death in 1883. From 1877 until 1885 the buildings were leased to the city and a public school was conducted by Professor Albert Ruth, who had previously served as principal of the preparatory school of East Tennessee University.[60]

From May, 1885 until May, 1890 Mrs. L. Crozier French and Miss Lucy G. Crozier leased the buildings and conducted a high class school for "young ladies and children." During this period the Institute was also the first home of the Ossoli Circle, a literary society for women founded by Mrs. French in 1885. During the five years of Mrs. French's school some of the women who are now active in the cultural life of Knoxville were students there. Instruction in elocution, or public speaking, was given special attention, since few teachers were more proficient and talented in this useful art than Mrs. French herself. She was the author of *A Manual of Elocution,* published in 1887. Mrs. French and Miss Crozier were eager to lease the property for another five years but the trustees were making plans to dispose of it.[61]

It was proposed to sell the buildings, purchase a smaller lot and erect a modern school building. E. J. Sanford was authorized to conduct the sale, which he did to the satisfaction of the trustees. O. P. Temple, W. M. Baxter and W. E. Williams each purchased a part of the land at a total price of $26,000.[62] The board then purchased two lots on Main Avenue and High Street (now South Broadway) from J. P. Young and B. R. Strong—one lot from each—at the combined cost of $6,000. The contract for the erection of the new building was awarded to John W. Hood, his bid, $18,245, being the lowest of three. On August 12, 1892 the trustees met for the first time in the new three-story brick and granite building. In the autumn of that year Professor Charles C. Ross took possession

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[58]*Daily Press and Herald,* Feb. 11, 1871. When Knabe returned he was employed by East Tennessee University as a teacher of music.

[59]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 135.

[60]*Ibid.,* 138-48. During this period unsuccessful efforts were made to sell the property.

[61]*Ibid.,* 148-154. See also Kate White in Knoxville *Sentinel,* March 5, 1922. Until the buildings were sold they were apparently used by Miss Kate R. Ogden for the private school she organized in the autumn of 1890. After the first year she moved her school to Humes Terrace on Main Avenue. Statement of S. A. Ogden, Knoxville. See also *Knoxville City Directory,* 1890.

[62]Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 156-68.

for a term of three years under a lease which was renewed successively to 1910.[63] The school conducted by Professor Ross for eighteen years was known as the East Tennessee Institute and School of Music. The departments were kindergarten, primary, preparatory and collegiate. The first faculty, in addition to the principal, included Mrs. Charles C. Ross, assistant principal, Miss Lucy H. Dana, Miss Florence Young, Mrs. Elizabeth Hale, Miss Antoinette Golay, Miss Florence Gray, Miss Jeannette E. Carpenter, and Mrs. Fannie Brown.[64] Other members of the faculty later were Miss Emma Jane Oram and Miss Cora M. Stearns; also Miss Mary Ogden, after studying in Philadelphia and New York, returned to become head of the art department. The methods of teaching employed were the most advanced and the courses given most thorough. In 1894 the Institute was in a flourishing condition with more than a hundred students in attendance. The first senior class to finish the course graduated in 1895.[65]

However, during the last year or two of the school that had enjoyed such widespread popularity and prosperity, it became apparent that the public high school system of Knoxville and other towns in the state was depriving the East Tennessee Female Institute of patronage, so much so that the property of the trustees could no longer be of value for the purpose intended. Therefore, in 1911, the centenary year of its first charter, the school came to a close and the building was leased to the University of Tennessee for use by the Home Economics Department.[66] In 1919 the trustees, Hugh L. McClung, L. D. Tyson, R. P. Gettys, Rush S. Hazen, James H. Cowan, E. T. Sanford, A. P. White and Lewis Tillman, made a deed of gift of the East Tennessee Female Institute property to the University of Tennessee.[67] The Institute building, remodeled and re-named "Tennessee Hall," is now the home of the University of Tennessee College of Law.

In closing, it may be well to say something about social life at the Academy and the Institute. The talented young women teachers and students of the Female Academy added much to the

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[63] *Ibid.*, 166-68.

[64] *Ibid.*, 170; *Knoxville City Directory*, 1893, 1895; Knoxville *Daily Journal*, September 3, 1893.

[65] *Institute Circular*, 1900. Some of those who graduated from the Institute while C. C. Ross had charge were Harriet K. Bauman, Sue Bauman, Jessie Bondurant, Donna L. Braine, Mabel W. Brown, Katherine W. Carson, Jean B. Crawford, Annie M. Gibson, Eleanor M. Lindsay, Gertrude Pankmin, Blanche V. Perry, Anna May Russell, Margaret A. Russell, Louise Sanford, Almena M. Smith, Mary B. Smith, Eleanor E. Spence, Frances B. Tillman, Nellie Treadwell, Lillian K. Waring, Lucie C. Whitlow, Mary H. Williams, and Grace E. Young.

[66] A copy of the lease is in the pocket of the Minute Book of the Board of Trustees.

[67] Tennessee *Public Acts*, 1919, pp. 224-25 (April 1, 1919). Knox County Deed Book, No. 312, pp. 253-54.

social life of the city and, consequently, romances developed. However, in this sketch only a few of these can be noted. It already has been stated that the first music instructor, Miss Mary Littleford, of Charlottesville, Virginia, was married to Andrew McMillan, merchant and trustee of the Academy. When Joseph Estabrook became the second principal, his sister-in-law, Miss Lucinda Dickinson, of Amherst, Massachusetts, was employed as a member of the faculty, but not for long for, in 1830, she, too, married one of the town's merchants, James Hervey Cowan,[68] who became a trustee of the Academy and continued to serve until his death in 1871. Another marriage of a faculty member was that of Miss Martha A. Stakely, of Madisonville, Tennessee, assistant teacher, 1855-1856, to Judge E. T. Hall, of Knoxville.[69]

The public examinations at the close of each school term were attended by numerous friends and out-of-town visitors. One such occasion was attended by David A. Deaderick, of Jonesboro, a young widower, who saw and greatly admired one of the students, Miss Elizabeth Jane Crozier, daughter of John Crozier, postmaster and merchant. The very next year he claimed her as his bride.[70]

Sometimes parties were given for the students of the Institute by young men friends. One of these, "a soiree," was given July 24, 1848, by the "Young Gentlemen of the City, in honor of the Graduating class of the East Tennessee Female Institute, at the Court House." Printed invitations containing the names of the twelve members of the invitation committee were issued.[71]

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[68] P. D. Cowan, *James H. Cowan* (Boston, 1883), 9-10.

[69] Hall-Stakely Papers in McClung Historical Collection.

[70] David A. Deaderick "Journal of Events (1825-1873)." *loc. cit.*, No. 8 (1936), 136.

[71] Invitations sent to Misses Martha A. and Sarah Elizabeth Stakely, students at Knoxville Female *Seminary*, are among the Hall-Stakely Papers.

ADOLPH S. OCHS: THE BOY PUBLISHER

By G. E. Govan and J. W. Livingood

The print shop on the corner of Sixth and Market streets, from which the sign of the "Commercial Book and Job Office" swung, was unusually active. An old fashioned press which required two "riders" creaked with each downward beat. A boy of twenty pushed the handle down in front and a lad just slightly over ten counted cadence with the handle on the opposite side. They had a deadline to meet. The city of Chattanooga was to have a new city directory and Marshall, Bruce, and Company of Nashville were calling for the pages for binding.

When the one hundred twenty-six printed pages lay about the shop, the younger lad waited for the return of his associate of the press who had gone out to borrow a handcart in which to dray the sheets to the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway depot. Soon the young pair bundled up their precious cargo and started down unimproved, uneven Market Street. William Griscom and Adolph S. Ochs had captured the living story of Chattanooga that April day in 1878 and were delivering it according to plan.[1]

Young Griscom's part in the activity had developed from the fact that his brother, Harry F. Griscom, who operated the printing establishment and published the *Chattanooga Weekly Commercial*, had given the use of his shop for the work on the directory. In early February the city council had accepted the proposition of Ochs and another young printer, David B. Harris, to take a census for $50.[2] Together, Ochs and Harris collected names, business information, and advertisements. As soon as a sufficient start in compiling data was made, Harris continued the "leg-work" while Ochs worked over the composing tables in the headquarters of the *Commercial* office and labored with his young friend at the presses. *The Chattanooga City Directory and Business Gazetteer* was to replace *The General and Business Directory for* 1876-77, which was Chattanooga's second city directory.[3]

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[1]Interview with W. S. Griscom.

[2]*Chattanooga Weekly Commercial*, February 10, 1878; the *Daily Dispatch*, February 6, 1878. Many secondary accounts claim the council remitted $300 for the taking of the census but there is no evidence to support these claims.

[3]Harris was associated with Ochs in only this one venture. He left Chattanooga shortly after and went into the newspaper business in Alabama. The *Chattanooga Times*, August 6, 1878.

The publication of the directory had been the most important event so far in the life of Adolph Ochs. He was born in Cincinnati on March 12, 1858. His father, Julius Ochs, had migrated to America in 1845 from his native Bavaria. He was a well-educated man, especially gifted in linguistics. After teaching for a short time in a Female Seminary in Kentucky he moved to Louisville and later to Cincinnati. In 1855 he married Bertha Levy, who also came to America at the time when German liberals and intellectuals were being persecuted by repressive autocratic governments in the mid-1840's. Although Adolph's mother was an ardent Southern sympathizer, having lived in Mississippi for several years after her arrival in this country, his father entered the service of the Union army, rising to the rank of captain. In 1864 Julius Ochs moved his family to Knoxville, Tennessee.[4]

Young Adolph was sent to Bradford's Hampden-Sidney Academy, a Knoxville day school. His father, an idealist, found the practical business of supporting a growing family of six children difficult and so Adolph soon took a job carrying newspapers to supplement the family income. At the age of eleven he started as office boy to Captain William Rule, editor of the *Knoxville Chronicle*. Years later, the Captain proudly said, "He swept my sanctum and cleaned up the papers and trash so methodically that he was promoted to delivery boy." With this promotion the lad earned $1.50 a week.[5] In 1870 Ochs went to Providence, Rhode Island, where he worked in an uncle's grocery store and attended business school in the evening.[6]

In 1871 he returned to Knoxville and apprenticed to a druggist for a short time before entering the primary grade of East Tennessee University. Then at the age of fifteen he was employed again by the *Knoxville Chronicle* as printer's devil and thus had to do all the odd jobs and dirty work in the composing room. This work was done at night, but the young boy was afraid to go home along the dark streets past the graveyard; so it became his habit to wait until the foreman of the composing room, Henry C.

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[3] T. M. Haddock, compiler and publisher, *General and Business Directory for* 1876-77 (Chattanooga, 1876. Patten and Payne, Printers).

A copy of this city directory has been discovered only recently and may now be found in the Chattanooga Public Library. It is purely a directory and gives no census figures or historical background.

[4] Harris Elwood Starr, "Julius Ochs," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-), XIII, 615-16; anonymous pamphlet, LXXV: *March Twelfth,* 1933 (no place of publication or date), 3. Hereafter this source will be referred to as anonymous pamphlet.

[5] The *Chattanooga Times,* April 9, 1935. On the death of Adolph Ochs both the *Chattanooga Times* and the *New York Times* carried the same biographical sketch of the publisher's life. Also see Elmer Davis, "Memoir of Adolph Simon Ochs," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX, xvii-xxi.

[6] Anonymous pamphlet, 4.

Collins, who lived near the Ochs' home, had finished his duties. While waiting around the office the eager boy picked up a knowledge of the printing trade.[7]

Crowded into his busy young life were also frequent ushering duties at Mayor Peter Staubs' Opera House and Saturday afternoon grocery store work. During these years he was described as a "human interrogation point." The deficiencies of his formal education were compensated for by his continuing curiosity as well as the advantages of a cultured home and private tutoring by his father. The personal traits and abilities of the hard-working youth captured the affection and respect of all, but his obvious sturdiness of character, quick intelligence and willingness to work spontaneously won him the deepest confidence of his elders. When at seventeen the lure of California beckoned to him, his pockets bulged with glowing recommendations. Captain Rule, for whom he worked a little more than two years, freely wrote:

I have found him honest, zealous, reliable and trustworthy. He is quick to comprehend and faithful to execute whatever he may be entrusted with. He is endowed with an intellect capable of reaching the highest point in mental achievement. He is a very meritorious young man. As such I cordially recommend him to all with whom he may come in contact.[8]

Ochs left Knoxville in the fall of 1875 for California, but relatives in Louisville erected a barrier to further journeying. He took a job for a time in the job printing office of the *Louisville Courier-Journal,* but his stay in the Kentucky city was not long. He returned shortly to Knoxville, where he was associated with the *Daily Tribune,* which had just been organized. Success crowded him upward from a job in the composing room to reporter and then to assistant to the business manager, Franc M. Paul. During a busy year and a half with the *Tribune,* he gained experience in

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[7]The *Chattanooga Times,* April 9, 1935. Adolph Ochs' name is listed among the preparatory students in *Catalogue of East Tennessee University,* 1872-73.

[8]Anonymous pamphlet, 4. Other recommendations which he carried are quoted from the same source. H. C. Collins, foreman on the *Knoxville Chronicle,* wrote on October 10, 1875, "Mr. Adolph S. Ochs has been under my instructions for about two years, and I have always found him honorable and correct, prompt and expedite. He is to a foreman what money is to a miser—a necessity hard to part with. I heartily commend him to the community in which he may cast his lot—and more especially to the disciples of the 'Art Preservative'—as a valuable addition."

S. C. Ramage, editor of the *Daily Press and Herald* of Knoxville, wrote of the young printer: "Having known Mr. Adolph S. Ochs for several years and watched with no little interest his conduct, I very willingly accord to him a degree of ability, steadiness of habits, and readiness of courtesy which mark him a young man of unusual promise to society and his fellow-men."

Ochs' fellow workers gave him a book of Hood's poems at this time which bore the following inscription: "We, the undersigned, your fellow-workmen, appreciating your moral and practiced worth, both as friend and workman, present you with this feeble tribute, with the hope that some day, soon or late, we shall be able to note you among the nation's honored sons."

all phases of the newspaper business.[9] He also met and worked with Colonel J. E. MacGowan, who was serving as editorial writer for the *Tribune*.[10]

Colonel MacGowan was a man of ability and judgment, who exerted quietly a steadying influence on his young friend and admirer. Born in Ohio, he had a true frontier inheritance. After some college training, MacGowan had taken up the study of law and practiced this profession in several northern states before the Civil War. Military activities with the Union army in the infantry and the artillery brought him to Chattanooga, at which place his regiment was mustered out after the close of the war. The Colonel soon decided to make Chattanooga his home, and in 1872 he served as the editor of the *Chattanooga Times*.[11] In 1876 he accepted a one year contract with the *Knoxville Tribune*, but did not break his ties with Chattanooga where his family remained.

Ochs came to Chattanooga on April 1, 1877, a boy of nineteen years.[12] He accompanied Franc M. Paul, former publisher of the *Chattanooga Rebel* and his colleague on the *Knoxville Tribune*, in establishing a morning newspaper called the *Chattanooga Daily Dispatch*. Colonel MacGowan also joined in the venture. The opportunities of the young city were stirring the imagination of ambitious men at that time. Only one mediocre morning newspaper dominated the daily press of the community.

On May 12, 1877, the first issue of the new paper was circulated.[13] Paul, who had but little capital, was the publisher. Colonel MacGowan served as editor and Ochs took up duties as advertising solicitor. A job printing office, under the control of Paul and Salmon, was operated in conjunction with the newspaper. On February 1, 1878, the *Daily Dispatch* changed hands and was put out by the Dispatch Publishing Company under the guiding hand of Theodore W. Gambee. The job printing office was also reorganized at the same time, with Salmon withdrawing from the business. Ochs was appointed receiver for Paul's interests and withdrew from the *Dispatch*. Being a youth of unusual energy, he naturally sought other employment. For a while he was liquidating Paul's debts, working on the city directory and also managing the Dispatch job printing department.

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[9] The *Chattanooga Times*, April 9, 1935.

[10] Alice MacGowan to G. E. Govan, August 24, 1940. Miss MacGowan is the daughter of Colonel J. E. MacGowan.

[11] C. D. McGuffey, *Standard History of Chattanooga* (Knoxville, 1911), 146.

[12] The *Chattanooga Times*, July 1, 1928. This edition celebrated the fiftieth year of Ochs' ownership of the paper.

[13] Facts concerning the *Daily Dispatch* were taken from a file of that newspaper which is found in virtually complete form from June 29, 1877 to March 8, 1878 in the Chattanooga Public Library.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gambee carried on a lively competition with the *Chattanooga Times*. In February, 1878, he announced that the *Dispatch* would be supplied the Associated Press News by telegraph; in this he completely scooped the *Times*. A campaign to harass his competitor followed in which very blunt blows were struck through news and editorial columns. However, the *Dispatch* soon began to fade badly and by the latter part of April gave up its telegraphic news reports. Some time later the editor of the *Chattanooga Times* took over the *Daily Dispatch* and merged it as the *Chattanooga Times and the Daily Dispatch*.[14]

It was after the reorganization of the *Dispatch* in February that Ochs and Harris undertook the city directory. This experience was to prove of later value as it helped Ochs get better acquainted with many of the people of the community and caused them to give him more than passing notice. Moreover, Ochs learned more about the community than was known by most of the inhabitants. He learned of its past as well as its present and took inventory of its future possibilities.

The town itself straggled from the river almost to the foot of Lookout Mountain, approximately five miles away.[15] It had no paved streets and few sidewalks. Certain spots during rainy weather were "a regular dismal swamp, appalling the boldest." Mudholes and ponds were plentiful and jokers with broad frontier humor found time to mark them with signs that read "Beware. Man drowned here last week," or "13 hand mule lost in this mudhole. . . ." Cattle wandered through the streets; hogs rooted in the gutters.

Business houses were largely confined to Market Street between the river and Ninth Street. Buildings and homes were frame for the most part and gave the dejected appearance of a sprawling, unartistic, overgrown village which got "wusser from wear." But forty years of age and pockmarked by the ravages of war, the town in its outward appearance was typical of the settling phase of frontier development. Nothing but the most miserable dirt roads was at the command of the farmers who wished to market produce in Chattanooga, and only a crude ferry operated by an old mule on a treadmill bridged the river.

A few horse cars operated on Market Street from the river to the Stanton House, which was one of the two hotels in the community. About ten steamers of from 150 to 300 tons burden plied

[14] The *Chattanooga Times*, July 1, 1928.

[15] A. S. Ochs and D. B. Harris, editors and publishers, *The Chattanooga City Directory and Business Gazetteer*, 1878-79 (Chattanooga, 1878). The following description of Chattanooga is based on material taken from the directory, in which an interesting historical sketch of Chattanooga is also found.

the river amid a picturesque collection of flatboats and log rafts during the seasons when water was deep enough to carry their burdens. The Chattanooga waterfront was the down-stream entrepot for the country produce and ores of the upper Tennessee. Here five railroads converged to tap the river trade which was bottled up by the Narrows just below the town. This railroad network which met at the Lookout Mountain city had as great a value for peaceful development as that assessed to it by military strategy just fifteen years before.

The census report of Ochs and Harris found 11,488 people living in the city, of whom 7451 were white and 3947 colored. The value of real and personal property totaled $3,873,445. Only 773 inhabitants were natives of Tennessee. The adult male population hailed from all but four of the states then existing and nineteen foreign countries.[16] The states not represented were Arkansas, California, Vermont, and Colorado.

The advertisements solicited by the census takers show an interesting picture of a growing industrial development in the community. There were five iron manufacturers, one boiler works, seven foundries, one plow manufacturer, one pump works, a saw manufacturer, three steel manufacturers, making a total of nineteen concerns engaged in the metal trades. The lumber floated down the river kept engaged five planing and saw mills, five door, sash, and blind manufacturers, six furniture concerns, and two carriage and wagon makers. There were also three brick kilns, an ice manufacturer, and three "flouring mills" in the town, but only two real estate agents had shingles out. Cotton was not very important, as there were but two mills, one factor, and two cotton compresses operating. The manufacturing spirit in Chattanooga was that of the New South of which it was a forerunner. This was especially true in the iron and steel industries. It was a development that was not unconsciously revealing itself, for in the parade on July Fourth, 1878, three floats pronounced, "Cotton Was King, Once," "Iron is King Now," "Coal is Prime Minister."

There were three banks to aid in the financing of this business activity, but capital was lacking for the most ordinary daily transaction. There is evidence that many commodities were exchanged on a barter basis and that the newspaper subscriptions were often paid for with local produce. This condition had persisted in varying degrees of severity since the war. On February 24, 1878, the *Chattanooga Weekly Commercial* commented drearily that, al-

[16] The regions from which citizens came were: Austria, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Isle of Man, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Russia, Saxony, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wales. *Ibid.*, 97.

though money was close, everyone in the city managed "by some means to keep body and soul together."

Despite these evidences of pioneer economic and social difficulties, Chattanooga could boast—boast of her future. Although the town had an Iron, Coal, and Manufacturers' Association, much of this boasting appeared as newspaper puffs which were widely disseminated. Men seemed to feel that as pioneers they and their fathers had conquered nature and distance and certainly the task of building a prosperous, settled community was easily within their grasp. For the ambitious Adolph Ochs, the opportunity was the recognized handmaiden of success. Hard work was his diet; if opportunity was surrounded by difficulties, he had the energy and faith in himself to chisel away the lock behind which a successful future was hidden.

For anyone interested in the newspaper business, such difficulties were not hard to discover. Three factors were particularly obvious. Newspapers had not been unduly successful in the past. The journal with which Ochs had been associated was near the pitfalls of failure. Thirdly, the history of the oldest paper of the day, the *Chattanooga Times,* had been very chequered.

The press history of the forty year old community was that of at least sixteen newspapers.[17] In 1838 a small newspaper plant was floated down the Tennessee River, and under the guiding hand of Mr. F. A. Parham issued the *Hamilton Gazette,* which was soon rechristened the *Chattanooga Gazette.* The *Gazette* ran for 21 years, serving the struggling community as a weekly until its discontinuance in 1859. Later, in 1864, it was revived as a daily for a short time. In 1845 competition appeared in a temperance reform organ, the *Vindicator.* The *Advertiser* appeared in 1853 and soon became the property of W. I. Crandall and H. F. Cooper. Under the latter's pen it championed the abolitionist cause until shortly before the Civil War, when it merged with the *Gazette.* To combat the influence of this sheet the *Southern Confederacy* was introduced in 1858, but it does not seem to have lasted until the establishment of the government whose principles it maintained. This division of sentiment in the Chattanooga press was typical of public opinion of the community. Situated in the mountains where the cotton and the corn country met, many of the townspeople were not sympathetic with the cause of the plantation South.

During the war years, the famous *Chattanooga Rebel* occupied a place of predominance. It was the first daily paper to be published, all the pre-war papers having been weeklies. With Franc M. Paul as publisher and Henry Watterson as chief editorial

[17] The history of the Chattanooga press is based on McGuffey, *op. cit.,* 233-47.

writer, it was "published in Chattanooga during such period of the Civil War as its publishers and editors found it expedient to remain."[18]

Shortly after the war, the *American Union,* also a daily, began publication, and a "throw sheet" published by a commercial firm and known as the *Advertiser* was freely circulated. In 1867 the *Republican* was started and was some time later consolidated with the *American Union.* For at least two years this paper was Chattanooga's principal paper. In 1869, rivals to the *Republican* appeared in the *Daily Enterprise* and, in December, the *Chattanooga Daily Times.* The 1870's witnessed a long parade of weeklies and dailies which were reorganized, sold, discontinued, or merged as their fate dictated. Details concerning them are buried in the deep dustbin of the past. The *Weekly Citizen,* the *Evening Mail,* which was served by Colonel J. E. MacGowan, *The Bee,* and the *Daily Herald* started the procession. In 1872 the *Commercial* started as a daily and changed to a weekly in 1877,[19] long enough to establish a permanent record. In 1876, the *New South Weekly* was established, failed, and was revived as the *New Weekly South,* and a Republican weekly, the *Tennessee Journal,* was published by Dr. G. A. Gowin.[20]

In the spring of 1878, four newspapers vied for patronage: the *Chattanooga Daily Dispatch,* with which Adolph Ochs was associated, the *Chattanooga Weekly Commercial,* the new *Greenback Advocate* under the auspices of R. C. Blichfeldt, and the *Chattanooga Daily Times.*[21]

The vicissitudes of the *Times* made an exceptionally clear case of the risks and difficulties involved in the newspaper business in Chattanooga.[22] On December 15, 1869, the first issue was circulated under the management of Kirby, Gamble, & Co. Major Thomas B. Kirby, ex-Federal officer and graduate of Yale University, served as editor, and Patton L. Gamble, a practical printer, was in active charge of the mechanical department.[23] The paper's "clothes" were shabby, as the type used was poor and an indifferent hand press served to strike off the editions. Through a flood of difficulties the firm managed to keep going until early in 1872, when it became involved in legal complications and lost its type,

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[18] Henry Watterson, *Marse Henry* (New York, 1919), I, 85; Arthur Krock, "Henry Watterson," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIX, 552-55.

[19] The *Commercial* changed back to a daily in 1884.

[20] Haddock, *op. cit.,* 22. McGuffey makes no mention of this journal.

[21] Ochs and Harris, *op. cit.,* 90.

[22] The *Chattanooga Times,* February 17, 1881. An editorial entitled "The Times in the Past and Now" gives a good account of the early years of the *Times,* which celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary last year.

[23] McGuffey, *op. cit.,* 239.

presses, and job office. But a Captain C. W. Baker, who operated a job printing shop, came to the rescue. With his offer of the facilities of his shop accepted, the *Times* continued to be printed regularly but in a reduced size until April 17, 1872.

New life was stimulated at that time as new equipment was obtained for both news and job departments. The *Times* made a new bow to the public as "one of the liveliest and handsomest sheets in the South."[24] But the difficulties of competition were soon seriously felt. Backed with substantial northern Republican financial support, Dr. Samuel Bard, formerly territorial governor of Idaho, moved to Chattanooga and started the *Daily Herald*. The management of this rival was not very business-like, but advertising patronage was divided. In the meantime the weak financial structure of Chattanooga was rocked by a merciless quake. The Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad, cruelly ridden by reconstruction manipulations, failed, pulling down many of its Chattanooga creditors and shareholders. The *Times* quivered, the *Herald* soon failed, and Dr. Bard left town, wiser, but without his money bags. Some weak evening sheets still divided patronage, but the *Times* again had the morning theater to itself.

The respite from competition was very brief. In October, 1873, the Commercial Printing Company purchased the equipment of the *Daily Herald* and began another Republican morning newspaper, the *Daily Commercial*. Conducted on a sound business principle, this well-edited paper grew in circulation. Liberal political patronage and donations made it a worthy competitor of the *Times*.

Meanwhile the affairs of the *Times* became financially involved. In 1874 Major Kirby bought out the Gamble interests in the business. The publisher soon slipped into the practice of having the printers conduct his business without him. Everything pointed toward failure in 1875, when a Captain H. N. Snyder stepped in and carried on the paper, at least partly at his own expense. Under the most trying conditions the paper continued to be published without missing a single issue. But the shadow of the chancery court continued to lengthen, and in March, 1875 the business was sold by decree to Z. C. Patten and T. H. Payne, partners in a book and stationery store.

From that date until September 30, 1876, the *Times* and its job office were under the management of Patten. Combining energy and ability he built up the daily subscription list to about 650 and the weekly sales to about 750 copies while the job office business developed equally.

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[24] Most of the equipment purchased at this time was used constantly until February 17, 1881.

On the first day of October, 1876, the entire business organization of the *Times* was purchased by S. A. Cunningham of Nashville and W. I. Crandall, who had been in the newspaper business in Chattanooga before the war. Within a short time, however, this partnership was dissolved, with Cunningham assuming ownership of the paper and Crandall taking the job office. Cunningham was a young man without working capital, and during the year and nine months he conducted the paper he followed the practice of taking in numerous partners and then buying them out. Four competitors in a community of Chattanooga's size were sufficient liability, but half-hearted business methods and a minimum of cash contributed to keep the paper on the verge of failure.

Although the ownership of the paper rested with Cunningham, it was still under lien to Z. C. Patten. Patten and Payne, both of whom had come to Chattanooga with the Federal army, had dissolved their partnership in the book and stationery business so that Patten could enter the medicine business. As cash was generally scarce in Chattanooga, Patten took his portion of the account involved in the dissolution of Patten & Payne in the notes of Cunningham and Crandall. In 1878, $1500 in notes remained unpaid.

Confusion, neglect, and a lack of the ability necessary to operate a paper quietly gnawed deeper and deeper at the vitals of the *Times*. Its position has been described as dragging itself from pillar to post, and having to lean heavily against the one or the other whenever it desired to cast a shadow or take a long breath.[25] It is a history not uncommon in small town journalism, and shortly Cunningham was ready to leave such worries to others.

In the meantime young Ochs had been thinking of a co-operative newspaper with assistance from the printers formerly associated with the *Dispatch*. Those who remained in Chattanooga were without employment because of the merger of the *Dispatch* with the *Times*. Cunningham learned of these activities and began negotiations with Ochs to sell the *Times* to him, offering the paper to him for $800, provided Ochs would also assume the debt of $1500 outstanding, payable $50 a month, each monthly payment carrying two years and more accrued interest. This was just the opportunity Ochs sought. But he did not have the $800 for such a purchase and failed in his attempt to raise it. After further negotiations and a discovery that the First National Bank would discount his note for $300 with the endorsement of E. A. James, a contract, part lease and part purchase, was signed on June 29, 1878.[26]

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[25] The *Chattanooga Times*, April 9, 1935, quoting the local historian, H. M. Wiltse.

[26] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1928.

According to the terms of this agreement, Ochs bought a one-half interest in the *Chattanooga Times* for $250, with the opportunity to purchase Cunningham's remaining interest at the end of two years at a price to be determined then.[27] He also assumed the debt held by Patten.

Though the portion he had purchased was but a half interest in the paper, it gave the young publisher-to-be, whose heavy black mustache only partly hid the fact that he was still a minor just twenty years of age, full control and title to the business. The *Times* was all his, to do with as he saw fit; so he set to work with confidence and energy to reorganize it. The business was "utterly dilapidated, demoralized and publicly and privately anathematized." An outstanding bill to the New York Associated Press put the paper in "very bad odor" with the agency. Circulation figures of the daily had dropped to a low of about 250 and the weekly had practically lapsed.[28] The young proprietor was little better off than his paper. His plant was in poor shape. The employee roster numbered five on the executive staff, six printers, two "subs," and

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[27] *Ibid.*, September 14, 1880. So successfully managed was the paper that in two years under Ochs' management a board of arbitration awarded Cunningham $5500 for his half of the paper. Thus the total cost to Ochs for the Cunningham interest was $5750, which two years before could have been bought for $800. The *Times* on that date carried the following editorial:

"ADOPH S. OCHS, PUBLISHER & PROPRIETOR

Many, perhaps a majority, of the readers of the Times will be surprised to learn from this writing that the ostensible publisher of this paper for two years past controlled it by virtue of a lease and contract to prospectively purchase the good-will and material.

That purchase was made yesterday, and Mr. S. A. Cunningham from this date ceases to have any right, title and interest in the Times, or control over it, and the sole proprietorship rests with the undersigned. The negotiation was a long and tedious one, was only finally closed by calling in Mr. Travis Wynhar of the Nashville American. Col. H. H. Jones of the Macon, Georgia, *Telegraph*, and Mr. Z. C. Patten, a former publisher of this paper, as arbitrators. Their verdict was promptly complied with, and the money consideration handed over to proper custody for delivery to Mr. Cunningham.

We began the publication of this paper when neither we nor it had any standing, financially speaking. Our patrons know what it was and what we have brought it to. Our past record in this regard must be a guarantee for the future. We believe that as to matter, THE TIMES is satisfactory. We shall soon move the business into new and commodious quarters, built especially for our use. Then we shall put on a new, bright and handsome dress, introduce new machinery and generally prepare ourselves for a growing business, which the encouragement of a kind public in the past leads us to hope for in the future.

The arbitrators above named will receive our thanks for the entire fairness of their finding. We also return thanks to H. Clay Evans, of the Roane Iron Co., and Col. Tom Fort, who materially aided in bringing about the, to us, most important and happy event.

The public will excuse us for this bit of apparent egotism, but the matters herein set out have so long been in detached and disjointed form before the public that we have thought best to briefly state them in authoritative form."

[28] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1881. The weekly was in such bad condition that Ochs immediately discontinued it for the time.

two Negroes.[29] Pressroom, composing room and business office were all pressed into a space of twenty by forty feet. Motive power for the press was furnished by "cullud gemmen." Ochs' acquaintanceship with Chattanooga was not even of one year's standing. His debts amounted to at least $1750. From his own private fortune, totaling $37.50,[30] twenty-five dollars had to be paid to the Associated Press. At the end of his first week as publisher he had to borrow to make up a deficiency in his payroll.

The assets of the young owner included the services of Colonel MacGowan, his friend and counselor, as editor of the paper. Although Adolph was younger than any of the MacGowan children, he spoke with such apparent confidence of this equal partnership with the older man as to cause hidden smiles among the Colonel's family. But they, too, soon found that the bubbling energy and enthusiasm of the young newspaperman were held within bounds by good breeding and common sense.[31] Ochs, himself, possessed experience in virtually every phase of the perilous journalistic trade of the day except ownership. Furthermore, he had those traits of boldness and enterprise which his former associates had seen in him. Brimful of initiative and confidence, he viewed Chattanooga's opportunities as he viewed his own. Like the boy, the community was in its youth; only the future lay ahead and if a boy or town tried, something could certainly be made of a future.

The issue of the *Times* on July 2 appeared as usual from its office at the corner of 8th and Cherry streets. Its four pages were well laden with local advertisements, notices of sheriff sales, and boilerplate. A hop at Natural Bridge, a ball game between the Roane Iron Company team and the Little Jokers, and the social item that Mrs. Key, wife of the United States Postmaster General, had returned from Washington to spend the summer in Chattanooga attracted local interest. "Croakers" were reminded that their favorite theme, the business depression, was still with them, but the paper asked, "Should times be called distressfully hard when the people of a city the size and containing the wealth of Chattanooga raises $1500 for a 4th of July frolic?" Chattanooga was famous for these celebrations when, as an Atlanta paper said, "the hide-bound radicals and hot-blooded ex-reb, going side by side, touching off fire crackers and yelling for the old flag," took over the community.[32] The spirit

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[29] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1928, quoting from an article printed in the same paper on July 7, 1903. This account was signed by W. M. Stone, who was with the *Times* when it was purchased by Ochs.

[30] *Ibid.*, April 6, 1935.

[31] Alice MacGowan to G. E. Govan, August 24, 1940.

[32] *Chattanooga Weekly Commercial*, June 30, 1878, quoting from the *Atlanta Independent*.

of this celebration was already abroad and news columns were dominated by preparations for the festivities.

Local editorial news which appeared on the second page, however, carried a surprising announcement to the paper's readers. The *Times* had changed ownership. This was not so surprising in itself, for it was a not infrequent occurrence; the startling thing was that the young Mr. Ochs controlled the paper. The new publisher revealed that Colonel MacGowan was to serve as editor and that he felt in this choice that "the best is the cheapest."

It was not surprising that Ochs should announce a policy on which his paper would rise or fall. That was usually done when papers started or changed ownership. But this announcement was to be later found of greater interest for two reasons: first, it was seriously meant; second, it was to be the basis of policy through one of the most distinguished careers in journalism. It did not pledge the paper to any special course in detail but consisted of five general features which became the foundation for Adolph Ochs' future newspaper ethics and policy. Chary of pledges and promises, the principles formulated were:[33]

(1) It will be the foremost purpose of the *Times'* manager to make it the indispensable organ of the business, commercial and productive, of Chattanooga, and of the mineral and agricultural districts of Tennessee, North Georgia, and Alabama.

(2) The paper will contain the latest news by telegraph, markets from all leading centers of trade, and the freshest news by mail. The local news department shall be as near perfect as hard work and vigilance can make it. In the items of general commercial and local information it is proposed to leave nothing to be desired, and no room for home or foreign competition.

(3) Politically the paper will move in line with the Conservative Democracy of the South. In State affairs we shall take such course as will, in our judgment, best serve the interests and protect and advance the credit and honor of Tennessee.

(4) In our efforts to reduce this brief program to practice in these columns, we shall expect the aid and sympathy of the manufacturing, commercial, professional and working classes of our people. Being cognizant of the need of and the strongly expressed desire for such a newspaper in Chattanooga as the above outline indicates the *Times* to be, we have taken the people at their word, and shall give them a chance to support that which they have been asking for—a paper primarily devoted to the material, educational, and moral growth of our progressive city and its surrounding territory.

(5) In this matter of patronage we shall make no "appeals," but rely upon that sense of propriety and justice which must reach every intelligent citizen that the obligation between himself and the paper is a natural one, ours to print and circulate such a journal as we have described, his to see that he contributes his share, in proportion to the benefits such a paper confers on him as a citizen, the means to sustain it and promote its growth

[33] The *Chattanooga Times*, July 2, 1928.

in material means and general journalistic value. In short, we shall conduct our business on business principles, neither seeking nor giving "sops" and "donations" except to or for legitimate objects of charity.

Publisher Ochs found his business suffered a very bad financial reputation when he assumed control. Bills were not paid until necessity reached into the money drawer and assembled small change and bills into the amount owed. A new business policy was immediately adopted based on promptness and an appearance of prosperity. Ochs had "beautiful" checks printed, which he bound in an impressive-looking book. When a statement was presented for payment, Ochs asked for a day so that the account could be "audited." The next morning, if he did not have the money in the bank, he hustled around to get enough to meet the payment.[34]

Ochs was not the only business man working on a shoestring. There was a group of check swappers who assisted each other over difficult situations.[35] These men would exchange checks dated ahead or even dated the day given and paid because of the time it took to clear checks from one bank to another. Illegal now, kiting was then resorted to by almost every business man in a town like Chattanooga. So with funds in the bank provided by these or other means Ochs would meet his creditor at the appointed time the day after the bill had been submitted and deliberately and legibly attach his signature to the prepared check. At first the bad reputation of the *Times*, coupled probably with a lack of respect for the youth of the owner, caused creditors to rush to the bank immediately to cash their checks. They always, if maybe to their surprise, found them good. Although the effort to meet payments was strenuous, Ochs found his reward in that people were soon willing to establish his credit on sixty days. This reputation of responsibility and promptness also greatly relieved difficulties of getting bank notes renewed.

Within a few weeks after his purchase, young Ochs announced that he also planned to put his subscribers and advertising patrons on a purely business relationship. Payment was not to be made as had "theretofore been the custom," but rather Ochs suggested that "We propose to pay for what we get and we want pay for what we do. . . . " Advertising rates were announced as: 8c a line for a single insertion to $1 a line for a month. Subscription rates were 75c a month or $8 a year with half price discounts to ministers. A few months later, the same policy of requiring payment

[34] Interview with Judge A. W. Chambliss, now associate justice of the supreme court of Tennessee. The "beautiful" checks, rich in ink and design, made a lasting impression on the young lawyer and newspaper worker who was intimately acquainted with Adolph Ochs.

[35] Interviews with S. R. Reed, Z. C. Patten, and Frank Spurlock.

was emphasized with an immediate threat of cutting off subscribers in arrears.[36] Economic necessity called for certain and not unusual practical adjustments to the policy of cash payment. Many of the merchants in Chattanooga were doing business with no greater financial reserves than the struggling publisher. Ochs made agreements with many of them to exchange merchandise for advertising space so that he in turn could use the merchandise to pay his men. In this way both parties were relieved of the pressing difficulty of paying cash.[37]

After making its best bow to the public, the offices of the *Times* were removed shortly after the middle of July to the old *Dispatch* office on the third floor of a building near the corner of 8th and Market streets.[38] Then, just twenty-four days after going into business, the *Times* was sued for libel. The publisher was "rather elated" and printed the story under the headline "Fame." Although the *Times* had had all manner of difficulty before Ochs became owner, it had not been so accused but once and then a withdrawal soon followed. In this new instance the *Times* had reported a police raid on what it termed a "house of ill-fame." In way of explanation but in no sense a retraction of this statement the *Times* stated that its reporter was quoting only what he heard a policeman say and that the paper had neither motive nor disposition to injure the gentleman in question or "his house or his guests." The *Times* was found guilty, as it was affirmed that the place in question was a disreputable beer garden only. Damages were refused for some reason and only thirty-five cents awarded. The *Times* sincerely repeated its former explanation of this incident and of its wish to do injustice to none.[39]

As late summer approached, a new danger threatened the community and brought serious problems for the young publisher. A hidden although familiar enemy had struck in the lower South; a serious epidemic of yellow fever had invaded New Orleans and continued up the Mississippi Valley during June, July, and August. That region was panic-stricken as the disease spread its area of conquest. Chattanooga, confident that it was in no danger, held charity balls, concerts, and socials to raise funds for New Orleans,

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[36]The *Chattanooga Times,* July 18, September 27, 1878.

[37]Interview with Dr. Frank Eastman. Dr. Eastman pointed out a working example of this kind of agreement. He came to Chattanooga about the time Ochs moved there and operated a drug store. He had a card in the *Times* which ran across two columns with the privilege of weekly change for which he contracted to pay $100 a year. Further agreements were that Ochs could give orders to any of his employees who wished drugs or drug store supplies which Eastman accepted and applied against his debt.

[38]The *Chattanooga Times,* July 19, 1878.

[39]*Ibid.,* July 25, 26, 1878.

Vicksburg, and Memphis and dispatched nurses and doctors early in September to the yellow fever area. The town offered itself and its surrounding mountains and ridges as a refuge for those in attacked areas.

Some suspicious cases appeared in Chattanooga in August but were diagnosed as "pernicious billious fever." During the second half of August the *Times* carried articles and editorials on the possibility of an epidemic. Although it was felt that there was no likelihood of a local attack, the paper said, "It behooves the people of Chattanooga to place the city in a thoroughly healthy condition." Citizens were urged to be careful where they deposited slop and to leave no filth about. Poor drainage and pools from waste pipes were discussed and attention was given to the town's orders that all hogs were to be removed from the community. Ochs was elected secretary and a member of the executive committee to relieve yellow fever sufferers in other communities and later chairman of the Hebrew committee that was to serve the same purpose. By August 31 Chattanooga had sent more than $1500 to sufferers, and Ochs was made a committee of one to secure "a basket of eatables" for nurses who had volunteered to go to Vicksburg.

Despite a display of self assurance which caused the *Times* to state in mid-September that there was no danger of an epidemic at present, the citizens of the town became restless and many left town for higher ground and places of security. While Adolph Ochs was out of town for a week on a business trip to Louisville and Cincinnati, the Board of Health admitted four cases and one death from yellow fever. The death was that of a refugee from Memphis. The community's charity in not quarantining against the infected areas was responsible for the introduction of the disease.

Those who remained in the besieged town were almost completely isolated and suffered some difficulties in getting the necessities of life. Industry and economic activity were virtually suspended, but the *Times* did not miss an issue. Colonel MacGowan remained to direct the paper while young Ochs left town, partly because of his parents' insistence and also to assist in raising funds in Louisville, Cincinnati, and Lexington to aid the Chattanooga sufferers. There was the further necessity to seek loans to keep the *Times* alive, as there was little or no interest in advertising during this critical period for the community.[40] The question of seeking refuge out of town was one seriously debated. The *Times* wrote editorially, "About those who stay and those who leave." Praise was offered to those who could have escaped but who preferred to "serve the Master by ministering to His helpless children."

[40] *Ibid.*, July 1, 1928.

However, a second item in the same issue said that refugees should not be called shirkers. Except for those who were necessary to administer relief and keep business going, it was better for people to leave. "The fewer people here, the quicker we can whip Bronze John."[41]

Only a few steamboats and limited train service brought word from the outside. Groping in the dark for a cure, the people brewed orange leaves into tea to be used medicinally. Neighboring towns quarantined against Chattanooga. Rural subscribers to the *Times* glanced at their disinfected papers of reduced size just as far from their faces as their arms were long and then hastily burned them. The paper, while burdened by the seriousness of the situation, nevertheless broke into broad frontier humor in its items in "Odds and Ends":

The hospital is awful handy to the graveyard.
The road principally traveled in these times is the road to the "boneyard."
11 deaths yesterday and more coming. Trot out your next funeral.[42]

There were occasional false alarms of frost, but all through October the fever continued to take its toll. Then the community began to come back to life. On November first the *Times* announced that regular rail service on the Western and Atlantic Railroad had been restored. The next day the good news was complete and the editor observed, "It was refreshing to a fellow who has seen nothing much but undertakers' proceedings for a month or so to observe the renewal of 'busy life'."[43] Ladies, children, and country people reacquainted themselves with the city streets. As yellow fever was declared officially ended, the Ochs newspaper returned to its four page standard size. The unseen, unknown enemy had taken 366 lives and cost the town, according to Mayor Hill, not less than one-half million dollars.[44] With the aid of printers from other city offices, the *Times* had made its daily appearance. But the fever had suspended all profits and brought in a balance of losses against Ochs' organization of about $600.[45] Yellow fever had not conquered the youthful publisher or his feeble business, but it was one of the narrowest places through which the ambitious youth had to pass.

Adverse conditions which had afflicted Chattanooga ever since the Civil War had never produced dejection. Rather, it produced a typical American frontier philosophy of optimism and sanguine hopes for the future. A dynamic spirit which encouraged men from all sections of the country to share Chattanooga's advantages

[41] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1878.
[42] *Ibid.*, October 9, 1878.
[43] *Ibid.*, November 2, 1878.
[44] *Ibid.*, March 11, 1879.
[45] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1881.

prevailed over provincial avarice. This feeling had been voiced in the city's newspapers for some ten years before the affable and able Ochs became a member of the town's fourth estate. His youthful enthusiasm, faith, and confidence made him a born booster, and under his guidance the *Times* immediately began to hammer on this theme. Its copies rang with challenges to improve the city, with items to deflate "croakers," and persuasive injections that Chattanooga needed only faith in itself and nerve to reach out for the advantages for the future.

On July 4, 1878, this effort had been started with quotations from encouraging editorials of business prospects which were generally taken from northern papers. Then an almost continuous barrage of challenges was laid down about the need for local improvement, coupled with a stout defense of conditions in the town. On July 11, the *Times* stated: "There is a filthy mudhole in the lot back of the courthouse that would be a disgrace to the deadest town in the country. For such a thing to exist in Chattanooga is a shame that should not continue longer than a day." A week later a defense of Chattanooga against criticism of the *Engineering News* appeared. To the statement that Chattanooga had only filth-laden open gutters, no churches, and but one school, the *Times* maintained that the death rate was less than that of Boston or Chicago, that seventeen churches ministered to the citizenry, and that there were "several very good and commodious schools."[46]

As the epidemic of yellow fever swept up the Mississippi Valley the same tone continued. Pleas for better sanitation followed one another. Editorially the paper stated, "Our city is not so clean as it should be, and we wish to impress upon our authorities the importance there exists in having no filth about."[47] A few days later a philosophic touch was added. In writing of the epidemic in other communities, the editorial concludes that if it "teaches them and us the value of thorough cleanliness, the dead will not have died in vain."[48] On the other hand, the paper maintained that Chattanooga would be free from the disaster of the fever. During the second week in September the paper bitterly attacked a correspondent of the McMinnville *New Era* as a "monumental liar" interested in becoming "the center of high sensation," when he wrote of yellow fever in Chattanooga.[49] The Newark, New Jersey, *Journal* also came under fire when it related a story of 100 cases in the city. The editor cried that the plague was a

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[46]*Ibid.*, July 18, 1878.
[47]*Ibid.*, August 18, 1878.
[48]*Ibid.*, August 29, 1878.
[49]*Ibid.*, September 13, 1878.

source of "ghastly lies" about Chattanooga and prevented settlers from coming here. Actually four cases were confessed to have been reported before September 14, but it was seriously maintained that they were imported from Memphis by people "with the seeds of the disease in their blood." Later, when recognition of the epidemic was announced and circumstances forced the *Times* to appear as a two-page sheet, confidence was still the keynote. In an editorial entitled "As to our Plague (?)" the paper said that those of faint heart were asking the question, "Won't this ruin Chattanooga?" Its response was, "No. If this city was born to be 'ruined,' it would have been blotted out years ago."[50]

In the very issue when a four-page paper was restored after the epidemic waned, Ochs' journal again began to boost. It was almost gleefully announced that every indication pointed to "an exceptionally brisk fall and winter business." Editorials continued to plug away at local improvements so that Yellow Jack would not return and so that emigrants would not be averse to moving to Chattanooga. In late December, when the supreme court of Ohio dismissed litigation which had held up construction of the long-awaited Cincinnati Southern Railroad to Chattanoga, the opportunities in the town for investments for Cincinnati people were vigorously presented.

The *Chattanooga Times* under Ochs insisted that its policy was to become a newspaper that would be a credit to the city. Periodically it did a little puffing for itself, maintaining without apology that "'he that bloweth not his own horn will not have it blown.' We have a good horn and we intend to blow it."[51] Circulation figures gave testimony to this fact as they mounted to almost 1500 on October 12, although a larger part of this increase must be attributed to the desire of refugees and people in neighboring communities to follow the progress of the epidemic. Competition from the *Greenback Advocate* was already eliminated, as Ochs had purchased this paper and suspended it.[52] To enliven the paper, prizes for original stories were announced and feature stories, including write-ups of local plants, businesses, clubs, and societies, were introduced.[53] Although the editorial writing was under the direction of Colonel MacGowan, it continually revealed many of the convictions of Ochs. Matters which involved a basic

[50] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1878.
[51] *Ibid.*, July 10, 1878.
[52] *Ibid.*, August 6, 1878. The publisher of the *Greenback Advocate*, R. C. Blickfeldt, left Chattanooga soon after the sale of his paper as a volunteer nurse for Vicksburg, where he died of yellow fever in early September.
[53] Interview with Judge A. W. Chambliss. Mr. Chambliss was one of the early feature-story writers.

principle were discussed, digested, and assimilated by editor and publisher working smoothly in constant and close harmony.[54]

Although he would frequently contribute a story about activities in other communities when he would visit them for any reason, the young publisher wrote very little himself. His interest was in the business of the paper, although he did not forget the mechanical side, which he had learned as printer's devil. But Ochs had a discriminating editorial sense. Always hard working and wide awake, he would wander through the composing rooms at one o'clock in the morning just as the paper was going to press. Ochs would examine the galleys or even read a story in type. As an uncanny judge of news he would suggest that a story be left out until more was known about it, that a headline be changed, a phrase rewritten or that an article be thrown out because it would not be good to print its contents.[55]

Eligibility in the community affairs of Chattanooga was not difficult for a likable young bachelor. Even before the coup which made Ochs a newspaper owner, he was welcomed into the social circles. Whether at the ball given by the Hebrew women to raise funds for a Sabbath School or at a masquerade party, he took part in the fun and helped with arrangements. His eagerness coupled with his budding business ability lent a dramatic note to his personality. But a delightful naivete was the leaven that kept him unpretentious and companionable.

Adolph's parents remained in Knoxville after his purchase of the *Times,* but his father had come on in July to affix his signature to his son's legal commitments as Ochs was still a minor. The following December his father moved his family to Chattanooga and assumed the position of treasurer of the *Chattanooga Times* under his son.

On March12, 1879, Adolph Ochs celebrated a great occasion. His feet were well planted in the world of journalism. His buoyant nature, however, was aloft in the peaks of his dreams. To his patrons and friends he revealed his true character in an editorial that appeared the next day:[56]

A Specimen of a Newspaper Man's Cheek. Blowing His Own Horn. We do not regard it as necessary to make any apologies for the remarks that follow. We are but human, and have our full share of self-admiration. This is a happy day with the publisher of this paper, and it is almost impossible to keep our happiness out of these columns. Though born in Cincinnati, Ohio, we have not until today become a citizen. Our happiness comes from the fact that today we are 21 years of age and have

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[54]Alice MacGowan to G. E. Govan, August 24, 1940.
[55]Interview with Judge A. W. Chambliss.
[56] The *Chattanooga Times,* March 13, 1879.

become a citizen—a man. Long have we looked to the time when we would have attained our majority, and many have been the bright pictures we have fancied ourselves the center of at this time. How many of these hopes have been realized we need not say.

We take this occasion to state that notwithstanding a *boy* has published the *Times* since last July, the *Times* has under his administration steadily increased in circulation and patronage, so that today we can boast that the *Times* has as large, if not a larger circulation than any newspaper in East Tennessee. We return our thanks to the citizens of Chattanooga and vicinity for the liberal encouragement given the present management of the *Times,* and we hope to merit a continuance of same.

Chattanooga's response to this revelation was doubtless typical of the frontier, where age or political affiliation or previous location meant little. In March, the *Times* printed a letter from a local business man of prominence, H. S. Thacher, who had accompanied his letter with "several bottles of choicest wines and liquors." "I must say," Mr. Thacher wrote, "if the *Times* has been published by a 'boy' since you became the purchaser until now, then I wish there were more 'boys'."

The way was not always easy for Adolph Ochs, but it was never to offer an obstacle which he feared to attack. Within a year, he had established himself and his paper in the respect of the community he chose to make his start. Now he felt strongly established enough to reveal how young he really was. And the revelation brought him only the increased respect of his fellow citizens. His feet were planted on his road. His principles had been stated. All that lay ahead was the future, and the future held no fears but only opportunity, if one tried.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited by

D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16)

IX—January-September, 1788, Additions**

(TRANSLATION)
GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK,[1]

New York, April 18, 1788 Confidential No. 19

Don Diego Gardoqui
Most Excellent Sir.

My dear Sir: Confirming my last confidential letter number 18[2] of December 6 a duplicate of which I sent on that date by way of Cadiz, I shall inform Your Excellency of what has happened since that date concerning the matter treated in that letter, and I shall reply to the confidential letter with which Your Excellency was kind enough to honor me on September 5, last.

I regret very much that Your Excellency does not enjoy the robust health that is necessary for the cares that I know surround you, but I hope that the Almighty will preserve you to us with daily improvement in health.

I have reviewed with great care the project of the treaty that His Majesty has adopted and I am sure that on my arrival here it could have been concluded without difficulty,[3] but this country has decayed so much since that time, that they have come to consider the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and their branches as a means of obtaining a living, so that hundreds are migrating there from all of the North Atlantic States.

It can be said without exaggeration that almost all of the land of those States is for sale, and he that does not sell his farm does not do so for want of a purchaser even though the price has been cut in half since the peace.

This necessity is general, but I mention the condition of those states

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

**Since the publication of preceding installments, which have included papers down to September, 1788, some transcripts and photostats of additional letters of earlier dates have come to light. Those for the years 1786 and 1787 were published as installment VIII, in *Publications* No. 16.

[1]Archivo Historico Nacional, Seccion de Estado (hereinafter cited as A.H.N.,E.), legajo 3893.

[2]Translation in installment VIII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 16 (1944), 90-96.

[3]Now that Spain was ready to negotiate on more reasonable terms there was no government with which to treat. See A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier*, 1783-1795 (Boston, 1927), 80-86.

because they are the most thickly populated, and their inhabitants the most aggressive in their undertakings and the most to be feared.

I write officially to Your Excellency about what has happened to Mr. Wouves, omitting a number of circumstances that do not sound good in connection with the commission with which he had the honor of being entrusted.

I do not wish to offend him or to venture my judgment but I consider him suspicious or imprudent.

To put you on guard about the first I shall add to the statement in the Official communication that this person is one of many of his Nation who having Plantations there aspire (without scruples about the means) to produce a demand in order to sell them.

At the same time that he arrived here, there appeared and took lodging in the same inn a certain Monsieur Tardiveau[4] of the same nationality who was very intimate with the former.

This person is a resident of Kentucky, a planter there and so acrimonious an advocate of the pretensions to the free navigation of the Mississippi that I have ascertained that two years ago he wrote a very diffuse paper and sent it to Mr. Calonne,[5] then Minister in France, showing him the advantage that his Nation would obtain if His Majesty would cede it Louisiana.

What he said in it he has published constantly in all of these States, and recently since he arrived here, and being in the inn with our Mr. Wouves, he has renewed his writings, and I am assured that he has delivered a very much retouched one to 2973. 228. 1420.[6]

Whether or not this person has received it, supports it, or has reached an understanding with him is difficult to ascertain, but that which I have witnessed in the house of the principal personage is, that the latter has entertained him, and has treated him with overmuch intimacy in view of the fact that Tardiveau is an adventuring trader, and that the former is not accustomed to do this even for persons of another class.

I have also noted that he himself and his minions speak very officiously with the aforesaid Tardiveau about the country of Kentucky, and manifest some interest in its welfare, and if I am able to obtain what I am seeking, which is an extract of a memorial which he says he just delivered, I will enclose it in this letter so that Your Excellency may see whether or not my misgivings are well-founded and whether I should have some about Mr. Wouves of whom I observed these connections and so many weaknesses.

It seems strange that it should not have occurred to that individual that the consenting to his claims, which is the only obstacle to the treaty, interests no one so much as it does me, and that, once agreed upon as he wished, it would leave no difficulty.

But what would he say if I showed him, as I can, a host of propositions that have been made me at different times along with various offers of those temptations with which the world debases man?

Your Excellency will pardon me if I omit much more because this abominable affair irritates me, and since I esteem moderation I shall conclude by saying that the world does not contain sufficient interest to turn me a hair's breadth from the King's service.

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[4]Benjamin Tardiveau, a merchant of Louisville and an associate of Wilkinson and his conspirators. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 194. For identification of Wouves, see note 21.

[5]Charles Alexandre de Calonne, French minister of finance, 1783-1787.

[6]Name in cipher. It probably refers to Count de Moustier, French minister to the United States.

I am infinitely grateful for the confidence with which His Majesty honors me by authorizing me to treat with them if the residents of that country wish to make an agreement on the conditions which Your Excellency indicates, but it is absolutely impracticable in this place, because there is scarcely any communication with them, and the casual communication that occurs is very likely to be given to the public without delay.

Only an occasional government employee arrives here and from such nothing favorable can be expected.

Nevertheless, I now have the services of Don Jaime[7] whom Your Excellency mentions, I am discussing the various views with him, we are arriving at an understanding, and I have reached the point of drinking his health.

My idea is that he leave in company of certain persons from here, and go to the state of Franklin to spread what seems convenient to me. If I achieve this I shall direct him to go to the Government at Natchez or New Orleans whose Chiefs, or the persons there that His Majesty authorizes, are the fortunate individuals who may easily and safely conclude this important service.

No better occasion could present itself, even though it had been ordered, because a diversity of opinions prevails and disappointment about the new government, which if not adopted may end in confusion, at best in two Confederations, and even when nine States ratify it, nobody expects it to be organized for some years, because the opposition is greater than was believed.

The paper of Baron Steuben which I enclose officially, and that which is adjoined, which although anonymous, is from persons of reputable standing, employment and circumstances, treat so diffusely of what this country and our affairs embrace, that they permit me to abbreviate the reflections that I should have allowed myself and indicate that nobody knows better than Your Excellency the natural connection of this country with those of the King in this area, and there is no inhabitant here who does not believe that this connection is of vital interest to posterity.

The serious lack of circulating specie and the sight of a Mexican peso recall the country that produces them, and make the settlers break forth in the following manner:

"The lands that contain these precious metals are near, and they are owned by a distant power which excludes us from the means of communication that God and nature have provided for this Continent, but the day draws near when, strengthened, we shall be carried there by the Western waters."

This, (and worse) is the tone with which they generally comfort and nourish their children so that even the moderates are secretly consumed by the insanity and fury of this disposition which only abides its time.

If this rapidly-growing young Empire unites as it grows, it may in a few years be dangerous to us because of its population, character and Geographic position.

Without going into detail about the influx of foreigners who look at the Commerce of this our Spain with overmuch greed, or without detaining myself to discuss possible internal events, I consider it of prime necessity to watch this community of laborers, Hunters, and enterprising people who are free and without religious restraints or laws, and who thrive on a rich

[7]Doctor James White.

soil and in a good climate where they are arriving in great numbers from all parts of the world.

Your Excellency will pardon me if my weakness or zeal for the King's welfare causes me to take undue liberties, and if I flatter myself that by the instructions that Your Excellency gave to Mr. Wouves I read between the lines that 904 . 1383 . 299 . 438 . 453 . 1999 . 918 . 118[8]. should be our motto, and in truth I do not believe that there is any more fitting, but I beg of Your Excellency to allow me to suggest from my knowledge of these people that we must meet them with some liberality in order to convert (to our interest) the hands that we wish to protect ourselves from.

The opportunity is precious.

I have secret reports from some of those settlements whose principal inhabitants have received favorably the idea [of turning to us].

It seems to me that it would be impossible to oblige this people by force, but I believe it would be easy to win them by tact and generosity, leaving them their customs, religion and laws, on the supposition that in time they will be imperceptibly drawn to ours.

I believe that the matter is ripe for trial because of the general debility of the country and because the District of Frankland lends itself to such a degree that I am informed that the government has *secret information* of that disposition.

The King claims that territory by the last conquest and I propose to do the rest by sending Don Jaime there to promote it and to treat with our officer, with which I shall have done all that is possible from here, without devoting too much time to this complicated and dangerous business.

Your Excellency should not be surprised that I call it dangerous because it is more so than it seems since this country and people are without government and it is necessary to trust our affairs to foreigners.

It is not my personal risk that causes me the most concern, but the consequences in which the nation might become involved if it were found out.

This consideration, Your Excellency, and that of being unable to inform His Majesty in writing from here to the extent and with the security required by the serious problems of the day and those that are contained in the enclosed writings (on which each chapter probably calls for many questions) obliges me to repeat to Your Excellency my opinion that I should take advantage of this interlude of inaction to present myself to you.

The circumstances of the Baron, his disposition, connections and the views that he may hold, together with those of the writers of the anonymous paper, their names and companions are of so much delicacy that they demand treatment after much reflection in order to ascertain and follow a good plan with energy and attention.

Your Excellency knows the importance of the secret, and for my part I have given my word of honor not to put on paper the names of the persons alluded to, but I shall conclude by assuring Your Excellency that in order to make sure of the facts and to fathom the hearts of the people, I have manifested that I am favorable to the offer of large tracts of land, powerful interests, and other brilliant advantages which, although everybody calls them lawful, offend my soul, which could not accomodate itself to them except in the royal service.

I shall, nevertheless, continue to deceive as long as I can be useful to

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[8]The motto in cipher.

the King's service.

Taking for granted all that has been said and that there is no indication that anything will occur that demands my presence here until the Government will have been organized, it seems to me that, if it is agreeable to His Majesty to grant me some months' leave of absence, I could depart at the end of the summer or the first of Autumn, and return to this place in the spring after having explained and answered questions about everything within comprehension.

Your Excellency well knows that at my age and in my state of health nothing could induce me to make the double Ocean voyage except the service of the King, and for the same reason I make bold to beg that, if His Majesty approves, Your Excellency will be pleased to grant me leave so that I may start before winter, because it might prove fatal to me if the crossing should be as hard as crossings usually are during that season.

While awaiting His Majesty's decision I shall divert myself by sending what useful Families I can to New Orleans, and by entertaining these people [of the West] with indirect hopes to quiet them, although I do not think we should have any fears, because the reports that I have from those waters [western] give not the slightest indication of unrest.

The Baron, who because of the time that had passed began to doubt that Your Excelency would reply concerning his departure, considered taking advantage of this new project to go with many others to those settlements, and has proposed a plan which I send you, deferring his departure until he receives Your Excelency's reply, in view of which *he says* he will go and examine all the land in the country he mentions, and proceed to New Orleans and there embark for Spain.

It seems to me that it would be convenient for me to gain time by my voyage so that he might be given hopes of the accomplishment of his plan, and that it might be well to deal with him in person; I say this because it would be well to get him away from here so that he may forget a certain attachment by which some have him in their grasp.

Your Excellency will pardon this loquaciousness, which is the result of good intentions, while I await the King's orders to proceed with the Baron and the others mentioned in the other paper, all of whom are important and busy people.

I am very grateful for what Your Excellency tells me about the expedition of the Archbishop Viceroy of Santa Fe,[9] and it never occurred to me to doubt in the least that he had the best of intentions, and good political objectives, but I lament the introduction of even a foreign pin on terms that I consider the root of our misery, and I should like to put a stop to it.

In an official communication I have informed Your Excellency of a letter that I had about the *situados*[10] for this mission and of my reply in which I have given an account, truthful to the letter, as I shall give of any amount that I may receive.

I am greatly indebted for the protection and kindness which Your Excelency is pleased to offer me, and I find in my heart only profound respect, acknowledgment and punctual obedience to whatever you desire. I reiterate this and offer time as my witness.

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[9]See installment VIII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 16 (1944), note 29.

[10]Money remittances from Mexico. In this case for the expense of the Spanish legation.

By strategem I have at last obtained the extracts, which I enclose, of the memorial or representation which the Frenchman assures me he has delivered to 2973 . 228 . 1420,[11] and I have not yet lost the hope of obtaining a literal copy in the language of the country in which it was written.

Not only is it asserted that it was received but it is said to be a memorial of a leading person, and so little precaution has been used that it has come to the knowledge of the members of this government, who, having complained about the proceedings of the said Tardiveau, the latter has had to add the declaration of which I enclose a copy, and of which I have seen the signed original, by which Your Excellency will see that there is little to doubt, and it will be enough that these same Officious Persons, or at least their aforementioned Chief, have not found out too much from our Mr. Wouves.

I should also inform Your Excellency that I have the best reasons to believe that the English government will have this news as soon as the French government receives it, because I know what is going on.

What is visible to this whole city is that 2973 . 228[12] courts the delegates from Virginia, and others have noticed it, by which Your Excellency will know the manner of thought of the Marquis that you mention, and from these facts you will perceive what should be done.

I believe that the information about illegal commerce, that I sent to New Orleans, has put a stop to it in the States in my vicinity, but I do not know what is going on in those to the South where my influence does not reach, and it would be most convenient for various reasons for the King to have trustworthy, active persons there, especially so that they could report anything new to our Officials, because Charleston and its vicinity is where the smugglers have to go for arms, Munitions and other necessities.

Several nations have consuls here, and among them England, although she has no treaty, and she has hundreds of emissaries, as France also has in addition to her Consuls in the Ports. These things provide great advantages, among which is that of sending Packages or Mail regularly without risk, which to my feeble understanding would be of great value to the King's service while we are reaching some agreement.

I beg Your Excellency to forgive my lengthiness because I have had such difficulty in obtaining news about the information which Mr. Jay communicated.

I have no light on this matter, but rather I am assured from several sources that all is quiet; nor have I heard of the whereabouts of the unfortunate Sullivan,[13] although I believe he is hidden in that country so he will not be apprehended.

Congress continues so weak that it has scarcely a quorum one day each month, nor is it expected to meet before August when it will be known positively whether or not the new plan of government will go into effect.

It had almost slipped my mind to inform Your Excellency that the Frenchman Tardiveau exaggerates in his writing and even fails to tell the truth about some things.

I believe I can get hold of a copy of his paper in French, but everybody marvels to see this person (because of his class) entertained and given so much attention in the first home of the nation.

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[11] Name in cipher, probably Count de Moustier.
[12] Name in cipher, probably Count de Moustier.
[13] John Sullivan. See Note 25.

News has arrived from Franklin or Francland (which is the same) and I am assured that its inhabitants are so entangled and divided among themselves that Governor Sevier was obliged to attack with arms the district of one person,[14] and was repulsed.

These reports have encouraged our Don Jaime, and since he has become enthusiastic, we have agreed that he shall start immediately.

Perhaps he will leave before the bearer of this letter.

I am constrained to believe he is sincere, because I have tried him from many angles, and I find him consistent.

I have instructed him as far as possible about our aims, without giving him a single written letter.

It seems that he goes resolved to serve us, and he says that if the matter is as ripe as he thinks, he will have no difficulty in carrying it out there even in the open, but for the present he charges the strictest secrecy.

Since it seems proper to me to pay his expenses on a journey like this, it will be well to give him what he requested, which is the moderate sum of three hundred pesos which I shall charge in the confidential account to Your Excellency.

He will follow the steps of the new Governor[15] and his people, and afterward go down the Ohio and Kentucky to Franklin on the waters of the Cumberland.

I do not know whether I am deceiving myself or not, but it seems to me that we should expect more from him than from the other who left. Recently Don Jaime told me clearly that his aims are to serve us and himself because he expects as a reward to be able to settle happily among us.

I have the pleasure to communicate to Your Excellency that the news I have caused to be spread as though from New Orleans about the good will of the King toward the new settlements of Kentucky, and other reports, are bearing fruit, because I know that the Member of Congress[16] from that country has said confidentially that His Majesty has happily changed his policies, and that he believes that we shall be able to reach amicable agreements, so that he thinks it only a matter of time and patience.

In my treatment of him and of another person I have used the utmost care, and I firmly believe that, if His Majesty approves my journey to Spain, it will be very easy for me to persuade them that I am going to promote this matter by representing it personally, by which means not only will time be gained, if it is necessary, but it will help to keep them quiet, as they are now, according to all reports that come to me.

Let me repeat my request for your pardon for my lengthiness and conclude by asking the Lord to grant Your Excellency as good health as I desire for you.

New York, April 18, 1788.

I had written the foregoing before the date that I have just put down because I was told that there would soon be a way to send it. Since then there has occurred the tumult that has given me a thousand headaches, and I am assured that at any time the people desire we may be discovered, and without the means of saving ourselves.

If, as I think necessary, His Majesty permits me to present myself to

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[14]Colonel John Tipton.

[15]This seems to refer to Governor Arthur St. Clair of the Northwest Territory, who arrived at his post in the summer of 1788.

[16]John Brown of Frankfort.

him I shall be careful not to leave any paper that may cause misgivings in such an emergency, although I have the greatest Confidence in the honor, care, zeal, and energy of His Majesty's Officials[17] in this mission. . . .

Diego de Gardoqui

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca etc. etc.

Please see the other side

At the moment that I was to close this communication two persons arrived to ask me if the reports are true that are circulating about the King's promoting the development of the Settlements of Natchez and its vicinity, and having replied that the pious and liberal Heart of His Majesty does not demand anything more than industry and fidelity to His Royal Person, they promised that within a month they would apply for passports to go to that place with a number of families, and one ended by saying, "I have lived for years in that country. I know well all the territory of Franklin and I promise you that there will accompany me more than 300 good Laborers, and I dare predict that all of its inhabitants will come to beg for the favors of so generous a government."

In view of this fact I believe we should expect a rapid settlement, and by excluding those that do not submit to us, we can form a good barrier, since those that direct it know how to guide them with tact and knowledge of the people.

It occurs to me now to tell Your Excellency that if the occasion arises to make a treaty with some State on the basis of Independence, it would be well to agree on the kind of boats that they will be allowed, and the Anchorage that they should pay, along with various other obstacles. My idea in this is to retard the advance of what is not ours, while this country is not in a condition to *attack* or *serve* as in the present case.

Our Speaking of the kind of Boats may serve to prevent them from insisting on sailing out to sea, and from going down with armed vessels.

I have just had my farewell conference with our Don Jaime and, after mature reflection, we have agreed that he shall carry a passport and a letter concerned with unimportant matters.

For this reason I have given him three letters, translations of which I enclose.

The purpose of these is to remove suspicion, and at the same time give importance to the bearer, who will give an intelligent interpretation to the expressions that I use in those to Sevier and Robertson, Persons whom we need.

I hope that all of these things merit the approval of His Majesty and that they will promote the service of the King as they are intended.

This person plans to leave on Monday according to what he has just said.

Gardoqui

Enclosure No. 1

Translations of a letter from Don Diego de Gardoqui to His Excellency Samuel Johnson, Esq. Governor of North Carolina.

New York, April 18, 1788

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[17]Josef de Jaudenes and Josef de Visar. They were left as Spanish agents in the United States when Gardoqui finally sailed for Spain in October, 1789.

Sir.

In consequence of a letter of Your Excellency, which has been communicated to me by the Honorable Doctor J. White, with enclosures from the frontier of North Carolina, in which complaint is made of the cruelty of the savages, and which, it is feared, is a result of encouragement by Spanish Subjects;[18] Your Excellency may rest assured that the reverse is true, because the Government of Spain is on terms of peace and amity with the United States and would rather use all measures possible to stop any attacks on their Citizens.

Nevertheless, in reply to the solicitude of Mr. White, I shall try to give explicit attention to these friendly complaints, and I shall be happy if the results are commensurate with the desires of that State.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and consideration etc.= signed = Diego de Gardoqui = His Excellency Samuel Johnson Esquire, Governor of North Carolina.

Enclosure No. 2

Translation of a letter from Don Diego de Gardoqui to His Excellency Governor Sevier of the State of Franklin.

New York, April 18, 1788.

Sir.

It is a great pleasure to have the honor to write to Your Excellency at the request of a Gentleman of North Carolina who desires me to quiet the minds of the good people of the frontiers of that State, with respect to the apprehension Some Have of robberies by the savages encouraged by orders from Spain.

I can assure Your Excellency that it is a malicious rumor, and that His Majesty is very much disposed to give the inhabitants of that Country all the protection they ask, and for my part it will give me great pleasure to contribute to it on this and any other occasion.

I have the honor to be with esteem and consideration etc. = signed = Diego de Gardoqui.

Enclosure No. 3

Translation of a letter from Don Diego de Gardoqui to Colonel Elisha Roverson[19] of Cumberland.

New York, April 18, 1788.

Sir.

Your good Friend Mr. J. White, anxious for the security of Your Settlement, has shown me a letter written by the Governor in which he informs me of the murders committed among your people by the Savages.

The news has caused me great concern, but I am extremely surprised to learn that there is suspicion that the good Government of Spain has promoted these barbarities.

Very different are the Orders of His Majesty, and our way of thinking, and you may rest assured that since the King is the friend of the United States in general, he is also pleased to show every kindness and generosity to the Western Country in particular whenever the occasion presents itself; and I shall be very happy to do all I can to serve the will of the Inhabitants of that Country.

I am with sincere respect etc. = signed = Gardoqui.

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[18]For McGillivray's version of the attacks on Cumberland see his letter to Arturo O'Neil, July 10, 1787, printed in J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 155. Pp. 153-167 are devoted to these attacks. See also Sevier to Gardoqui, September 12, 1788 in installment VII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 15 (1943), 103 and footnote 33.

[19]Robertson, Elijah—brother of James Robertson. According to Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 112, this letter, together with the suggestions of André Fagot, originated the "Spanish Conspiracy."

[Translation]

Gardoqui to Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1788[20]

New York, July 25, 1788 Confidential No. 20

Don Diego Gardoqui.

Most Excellent Sir

My Dear Sir. While nothing flatters me so much as receiving the valuable letters of Your Excellency, and the honor of answering them, I fear very much that I shall inconvenience you, for which reason I will try to curtail my accustomed lengthiness in replying to yours of May 24, by saying that by my last No. 19 of April 18 Your Excellency may see my opinion of the terms on which His Majesty has seen fit to negotiate about the boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi.

By the same (a duplicate of which is enclosed) Your Excellency will note that my views include the attraction of the dwellers along the Ohio and Mississippi to our devotion, but I cannot persuade myself that the methods suggested here by Mr. Wouves are the proper ones to achieve what His Majesty has in mind.[21]

I believe that my efforts, and the journey of Don Jaime prove these views, for which reason I await Your Excellency's communication to me about the commerce of Louisiana.

Since Don Jaime left, as I reported to you, I have had no news whatever, but I am not surprised at this silence because the opportunities for communication are very rare and exceedingly dangerous, in spite of the fact that we agreed on a plan.

In the official communication I am informing Your Excellency of the beginning of a new conquest that I have arranged with a certain John Brown.[22] This individual is of good family and is a leader there, and I have laid the foundation for friendship. I have also had other casual conversations with him since my Communication, and in the last my ideas seemed to him so fitting, and he considered the matter of such importance to his country, that he communicated it through three different Channels, by the first of which he judged that his letter would have reached its destination this week, and that having communicated it to certain individuals of importance, he does not doubt that they will make immediate preparations for the assembly for the sake of the consequences that they have desired so fervently.

He told me that within fifteen days he would start for his country, and that he would not be long in getting there, and he thanked me a thousand times for the security of the friendship, ideas and dispositions that I had shown him, assuring me of his integrity, and thanking me on his behalf and on that of his whole country, and finally we arranged to converse again before he leaves.

It happens that he is resentful toward Congress for not having admitted his Country as an Independent State, but fortunately he does not know the intrigues that it has cost me, which are too lengthy for writing.

There is also the fact that of the thirteen delegates that Kentucky sent to the Virginia Convention, ten voted against the ratification of the new system of government, by which Your Excellency will see that the occasion

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[20]A.H.N., E., legajo 3893.

[21] Pierre Wouvres d'Arges was sent to Kentucky as immigration agent to recruit settlers for Spanish territory.

[22]Wilkinson had written to Gardoqui to propose tthat he, Brown, Henry Innes, and Benjamin Sebastian be allowed to establish a colony at Walnut Hills under Spanish authority.

is precious, as I reported to His Majesty, but I am too far away from the seat of operations to promote the matter.

I consider the problem most delicate for my limited ability, and I am vexed because I am so far from Your Excellency, since what I would like to do—that is, to consult you—would probably cause the loss of the opportunity.

Finally, Your Excellency, I see a thorny path in every direction; I should like to make sure of the tranquility of the King's possessions by ceding a little but keeping much in order to have the means to gain more and at the same time to preserve the good opinion of the United States.

If, for example, these people should become enthusiastic, and should set up an Independent state and suddenly confer on Brown or some other person the power to negotiate with me here, I should find myself in a delicate situation because of the nature of the matter, and because of the theater of action where, outside this house, everybody would be a dangerous spy.

On the other hand, I do not know whether I am considered to possess power enough for such an event, but at least I am resolved to face whatever comes with a heart resolute in the King's service, confident that if I err, His Majesty will pardon me.

In the meantime, I hope that Your Excellency will give me as soon as possible the information and orders that are necessary for my guidance.

I am abashed by the expressions with which Your Excellency is honored to inform me that for the present it is necessary for me to remain here, but that you will not forget to remove me as soon as it is wise.

It is not in me to go back on my word, and having foresworn myself to Your Excellency I have no other will than yours, and having called upon time as my witness, I shall limit myself to thanking you for all the kindness which you confer, and to begging Your Excellency earnestly to believe that it is not for my personal convenience, nor my inconsistency that I desire to make an unpleasant voyage of six months, but because I consider it very necessary to the success of the undertaking in which I am engaged.

I speak, Most Excellent Sir, with only this matter at my heart, but Your Excellency, who sees everything, will understand more perfectly, and I shall obey with pleasure.

I shall try to prepare a memorial on the mater that I had the honor to suggest to Your Excellency about supplying our troops and vessels in case of necessity, although the operation is so simple that if the person who executes it works in good faith, it will be made useful without difficulty, but, Your Excellency, I am aware of the aims, concepts and ideas with which our people migrate to America and how they are to be explained.

Baron Steuben has been on his plantation for some time, but I know that he awaits a report on the results of his communication.

Perhaps with the new plan of government he will be invited to stay, but since this requires time and the Baron must have the means to live, I do not know whether it will tempt him.

I should be obliged if Your Excellency would inform yourself about the distribution of the secret expenditure, of which I have collected the Royal Treasury.

Your Excellency will note that the account for this year is small, for it 300 pesos that I lent to Mr. Parker,[23] which I credit on my account to the

[23]Possibly John Parker, delegate in Congress from South Carolina, 1786-1788.

seemed to me superfluous to spend without the probability of producing results, since there is no government, and I have only continued to give some small entertainments to Mr. Jay and others who will continue to be conspicuous and useful.

Mr. Tardiveau is still here, and as welcome as ever in the first home of the nation.

Through the Chief of the house who was so artless as to introduce him to me, he has tried to enter this one, but without discourtesy I keep him at a distance, with the view, notwithstanding, of allowing him to be more intimate when the aforesaid Chief is absent as he plans to be, because, if I am not mistaken, he [Tardiveau] will come at full speed and I shall try to see if he can serve my purpose.

By my several Official communications Your Excellency will see that ten States have ratified the new plan of government, in spite of great opposition on the part of a large number of their inhabitants, but the cleverness of the leaders who now push its organization has prevailed. To this end a full Congress has met, and it is delayed only because the delegates to the Convention of this state have not yet convened, and the results are still doubtful, but the meeting is expected daily. In the meantime it is known that Mr. Jay and his associates have done their best through Oratory and intrigue, but without results up to the present time, because the Governor and the residents of the rural districts are bitterly opposed [to the new Constitution].

If they refuse to ratify it, it is possible that there will be the strange case of the division of the State, because this City is in favor of the new Government, and since it controls the mouths of the rivers the use of which the people of the interior claim, they may end in a case similar to our affair [over the mouth of the Mississippi] which would be odd.

What they promise from the new government borders on insanity, but the intelligent men think more moderately, and some fear that it will be only a temporary remedy which will delay the disease but not cure it.

Be that as it may, the matter proceeds slowly because in my opinion, as I reported to you, its organization will be delayed, and its effects will not be felt for many years, especially with respect to the Treasury which is in a very bad condition because it does not possess a *cuarto*,[24] nor the credit to raise one.

When I spoke of Mr. Tardiveau I should have added that, having read his paper written in French, I do not find that he offers anything whatever beyond what was in the one I sent to Your Excellency, for which reason it seems to me superfluous to give it any more attention, but I shall keep it in my possession in case it is of any use in the future.

I have just been informed that the government has recently heard the results of the measures it took against the unhappy Sullivan[25] because of my complaint, and the Commandant to whom he was committed asserts that he did not show the least sign of hostility, nor did he seem like the same person.

I have since accidentally heard that after the said Sullivan had wandered about the country, he had embarked for England, which statement

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[24]An old Spanish coin worth approximately three-fifths of a cent.

[25]See Gardoqui to Ezpeleta, November 12, 1787 (Installment V of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 13 (1941) for an account of the former's complaint to General Henry Knox about Sullivan's activities.

I should be glad to verify.

The Doctor[26] whose paper I enclose I consider another such person, although with more talent and understanding; therefore I replied to him in terms calculated to keep him quiet, and with expressions that appear to promise what is not likely to be realized.

I enclose an account of the manner of the inhabitants of this City celebrating the adoption of the new government, in spite of the feeling aroused in them by the opposition of two-thirds of their rival fellow-citizens of the State.

Remembering the orders of Your Excellency that in view of the circumstances I should stay on good terms with these people and with the private persons who may influence our affairs, it seemed well to me to arrange the entertainment given by His Majesty's mail packet, which pleased them very much.

It is also noteworthy that although we have no treaty with them they had placed His Majesty's Flag in a prominent place at the base of a placard bearing the words *Treaty with Spain*, just as there was one of France, but not having a treaty with England, her flag was not flown, a distinction which was much felt by the citizens of that nation.

Your Excellency will pardon me for reporting these trivialities, for although I know that they are such, they show how favorably we are looked on in this country, and the desire of these people to continue friendly.

I conclude Sir, by adding that the more I examine this locality and the divergence of interests between these Atlantic States and those States on the banks of our River, I am even more confirmed in the belief that they cannot continue united with those that have their outlet on the waters of those rivers, and although it may require a long time I can promote the policy that is fitting to the King's interests. . . . New York, July 25, 1788. . . .

Diego Gardoqui

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca etc.

Enclosure

A translation of the declaration made by B. Tardiveau as a result of the paper, which it is said he handed to the French Minister[27] because he was somewhat critical of that Nation.

Contrary to my intentions I find myself under the necessity of clarifying my conduct with respect to the charge made by some persons of this city.

Considering the deplorable state of our Commerce, and convinced that we could not obtain the navigation of the Mississippi from the Spaniards by Negotiation, I have maintained that it would be advantageous for us if France were in possession of New Orleans, being sustained in my opinion by all my fellow-countrymen, and almost all the Persons of distinction on this side of the Mountains, with whom I have conversed on the subject, and I remember the general satisfaction that they expressed two months ago when the rumor was current that Louisiana had been ceded to France.

Nevertheless, I consider that alternative only as the lesser of two evils, persuaded as I am that the Navigation would be more free to us under the French than under the Spaniards, but some persons have declared me partial to the French, and my desire to be that that nation dominate and perhaps enslave the Commerce and industries of the West; but I deny

[26]This probably refers to Dr. James O'Fallon of Yazoo fame.
[27]The Count de Moustier, French minister to the United States.

such a charge.

I abhor the thought of any Foreign power's possessing a foot of American Earth if it be possible to prevent it, and my zeal for the honor and prosperity of these States cannot be doubted in any place where my Name is known.

The reason I have proposed the Expedient of placing New Orleans in French hands has been to seek better means than are now available to remove the hindrances to Western Commerce. If I could see any hope of effecting this by means of the Union, I should be the first to act to promote this happy event as any other Citizen Born in America would do; and a perpetual union of all under the plan of the Convention.

I beg that Messrs. Contes and White explain my manner of thinking to as many as read this memorial.

New York, February 20, 1788 = signed= B. Tardiveau.

UP THE TENNESSEE IN 1790: THE REPORT OF MAJOR JOHN DOUGHTY TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Edited by

COLTON STORM

The report published here for the first time was made by John Doughty, major of the Artillery Battalion of the United States Army, to Henry Knox, secretary of war, in April, 1790. Doughty had been sent by Knox to carry a message from President Washington to the Indian tribes south of the Ohio River and particularly to the Cherokees. Also, he was to secure answers to several questions of possible military importance. Washington's message[1] was part of an attempt to avoid war and establish trade with the Indians. It was one episode in a long series of efforts made by the government to obviate the necessity of a war with the Indians which might involve the Spaniards. The American government was not successful for a variety of reasons. As Randolph C. Downes[2] has pointed out, every step taken by Americans, both in and out of the government, led inexorably to Harmar's brush with the Indians in the Maumee Valley, to St. Clair's defeat at the hands of Little Turtle, and to Wayne's triumph at Fallen Timbers.

Major Doughty seems to have had some animus towards General Josiah Harmar—at any rate, they were not wholly friendly. Perhaps it was because Doughty acted, in this instance, in close cooperation with Washington and Knox. For example, Knox wrote to Governor Arthur St. Clair (December 19, 1789) that "the President of the United States has directed that Major Doughty be sent to those tribes to ascertain their sentiments. . . ."[3] Again, it is clear from his diary (entry for July 2, 1790) that Washington received and read Doughty's long report to Knox; he was also relieved to know of Doughty's safety after earlier rumors of his death. The following year, Knox seems to have had Doughty's observations in mind when he wrote to St. Clair (March 21, 1791) as follows:

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[1]J. C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931-40), XXX, 479-80.

[2]"Indian Affairs in the Southwest Territory, 1790-1796," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Ser. III, No. 4 (January, 1937), 240-68; "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 35-53.

[3]Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934-), II, 225-26.

"A military post at Bear's Creek called Occochappo below the Muscle Schoals upon the Tennessee has been considered as proper to prevent the usurpation of the Indian Lands and also at some proper place upon the Mississippi."[4]

The significance of the report here printed lies in the clarity of Doughty's understanding of the problems faced by the government in dealing with the Indians. Doughty's sympathy for the Indians and his regret over the shortcomings of his countrymen are clearly marked. He also recognized the importance of handling the Indians skilfully to avoid clashes with England and Spain. His suggestions for treating both the Indians and the whites fairly and for luring the Indians from their dependence on Spanish and English trade seem of the sort that ought to have appealed to Washington and Knox. However, any effect the report might have had on American-Indian-Spanish-English relations was lost when the blood began to run on the battlefields of Ohio. The United States had not the strength to display force both north and south of the Ohio; expediency cajoled the abandonment of Doughty's suggestions.

Doughty's report presents few difficulties. The message he carried from Washington has been cited above; the questions for which Knox required answers may be reconstructed from the answers. The manuscript map drawn for Doughty by Captain Jonathan Heart and sent to Knox with the original of the report appears to have been lost; it is doubtful that a duplicate map was given to Harmar (certainly, it is not now among the Harmar papers). The report is printed from the manuscript copy in Doughty's handwriting among the papers of Josiah Harmar (Vol. 12, pp. 79-86) in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan. The report, signed for Harmar only with initials, is written on 29 folio pages. It has been transcribed as it was written except for modern punctuation.

Kaskaskias 17:h April 1790

Sir:

It was not untill the 28 of Febry that I arrived at the Mouth of the Tenessee. The Quantity of Ice in the River Ohio made it impossible for me to proceed with more Expedition. On the 31t of Jany I detached Capt.n Heart from the Falls of Ohio, with two Woodsmen & a Soldier, with Orders to proceed to the Chicasaw Path on the Mississipi near the Mouth of the River Margott,[5] from thence to proceed with all possible Expedition to the Chicasaw Towns[6] to inform the Nation of my comeing, thence to strike the Tenessee in the shortest Direction, to descend its Waters & to meet me with a Chief & some of their Warriors at the Mouth

[4]*Historical Collections . . . Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society,* XXIV (Lansing, 1895), 192.

[5]Wolf River, near the site of Memphis, Tennessee.

[6]At the headwaters of the Tombigbee River.

of that River or somewhere in my Passage up. Not meeting Capt.n Heart[7] at the Mouth, & it being the Season when most of the Indians had compleated their Winters Hunt & returned to their Towns, & too soon for War Parties to commence their Operations, I thought it best to proceed on the 1t of March without further Delay.

Two Days I was detained on my Passage by stormy Weather. On the 16h I arrived on an Island about 220 Miles up. The River, being at its fullest Height from the Spring flood, it took me thirteen Days hard rowing to accomplish this Distance. In all this Time, I mett only two parties of Chicasaw Warriors going against the Kickapoos. They received me with the greatest Kindness. I endeavoured to procure some of them to accompany me, but it was impossible. I was led to believe their Refusal aroze not from a Want of Inclination to serve me, but from a point of Honor which makes it disreputable for a Warrior to return back on a War Path untill he has seen his Enemy. They told me the Kickapoos had killed, last Summer, twelve Chicasaws & Choctaws, & the two Nations are determined upon Revenge, [and] that a Number of Choctaws were on the Road to the Kickapoo Country. A few Hours after my establishing my Camp on the Island, a Canoe with four Men & a Woman appeared in sight. They landed & told me that three of the Men were Creeks & the other a Shawanoe, & that they were going to hunt, that their Camp was a few Miles up the River. I received them with Kindness & gave them some Bread & Tobacco. When they left me, they promised to return in a few Hours with some Meat. I had no Expectation of their performing their promise, &, therefore, told them they could return if they pleased, [but] that I did not want any Meat. I saw an Embarrassment in their Countenances & an Anxiety to depart, arising probably from an Apprehension of Danger. I was thence led to believe the proposal to go & fetch Meat for me merely a Pretext to gett off. After telling them in general Terms that my Object was to establish Peace & Trade with the Nations, without nameing any in particular, & not knowing what force they might have left in their Camp, I thought it more prudent to let them depart than to make them prisoners or to kill them. Immediately after they left me, in order to confirm the Sentiments I had Held out to these people, I dispatched Mr Vigo[8] with his Traders to Ochappo,[9] & requested him, if he did not meet Capt.n Heart, to send an Express to the Chicasaw Towns, requesting some of them to meet me at the Mouth of Ochappo. I concluded to stay four Days in my Camp, in which Time Mr Vigo would arrive at Ochappo & be able to send me Intelligence & dispatch a Messenger to the Towns. The Time it would take me to arrive at Ochappo would be sufficient for the Indians to ride from their Towns to meet me. We had been informed that a Number of Indians were at the Mouth of the Ochappo, or a few Miles up it. As yet, I had Heard nothing of Capt.n Heart, & had concluded that some Misfortune had befallen him. I waited six Days in my Camp. Not hearing from Mr Vigo, I embarked on the seventh & proceeded up the River. On the Day after, which was the 22d of March, at Noon, I discovered four large Canoes with 10 Indians in each. They immediately hoisted a White flagg & I brought too to speak to them,

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[7] Captain Jonathan Heart.

[8] Joseph Maria Francisco Vigo, one of the most capable traders and agents of the period.

[9] Bear Creek.

expecting they were comeing to receive & conduct me to their Town. They came alongside & shewed me every Mark of friendship, each one trying to outdo his Neighbour in Professions of friendship. They told me they were Cherokees & Shawanoes. Not finding Mr Vigo or my Interpreter amongst them, & seeing the three Creeks who had visited me on the Island in the Party, I was apprehensive their Designs were not the most friendly & concluded the best Part for me to act was to shew no Want of Confidence, but to gett afloat & either land above them, or put myself in the best posture of Defence on the River. By signs & very broken English, they intimated a Wish for me to land & encamp that Night with them, promising to hunt & kill some Buffaloe & Turkey Meat for me. I returned for Answer that my Object was to reach the Ochappo that Evening, then Distant about six Miles. & begged them to go with me, that it was useless to land, the place was bad, I could not speak to them, my Interpreter being at Ochappo. I told them who I was, by whom I was sent, & what was my Object. They again renewed their professions of friendship. The Chief of the party, with several of his Men, came on Board my Barge & I gave them some Corn & Tobacco, which they received very thankfully. I told them I would encamp a few Miles above, where I should be glad to see them that Evening or the next day. They shook me by the Hand & left me. In this apparent friendly Intercourse, we spent at least an Hour together, my Object being Peace, the Business on which I was sent, far from being accomplished. Appearances sufficient to excite in my Mind Caution, tho not sufficient to justify me at the Time in commencing Hostilities, the Distance to the Ochappo so small that I should arrive there in a few Hours, & almost a Certainty of my meeting Mr Vigo & some of the Choctaws; induced by these Considerations, I bid the Indians farewell & ordered the Men to their Oars. It was imprudent to cross the River immediately in their View, as it then made an Angle to the East. In a few Minutes, I should be more out of View & should either have landed or crossed, but before this could be accomplished, they poured into my Boats a most deadly fire. It was impossible to land under it. I immediately put about in the stream & returned the fire. They then took to their Canoes & shewed a design to board me, but the firm Resistance we made induced them to give up their Design. We floated down the River; they pursued us for about four Hours, & a warm fire was kept up on both sides. They then appeared to have an Intention to pass us & land below in some of the Narrows formed by Islands. If they had accomplished this object & given us one well directed fire, the Event would have been fatal. We were so happy as to frustrate this Object. During this unhappy Affair, I had the Misfortune, out of 15 Privates, to have five Killed & six Wounded.

Having heard nothing of Capt Heart. not knowing the ffate of Mr Vigo, & haveing only a Sergeant & 4 Privates left, I continued my Course down the River. On my Arrival in the Ohio, I thought it most prudent to proceed to its Mouth in order to join the Troops at Kaskaskias. Arriving at this Point, I found no Relief. Under these distressing Circumstances, encumbered with six Men badly wounded, whose Scituation called for immediate Assistance, no certain prospect of Relief, the Current impossible to be mounted by the small force I had left, I thought it imprudent to remain long in this Scituation. I had no other Resource but to proceed to the Spanish Post at L'Ance a la Graisse,[10] about 45 Miles below the Ohio.

[10]New Madrid.

I arrived there the Evening of the 25h, one of the wounded dying on the Passage. The next Day I dispatched an Express across the Country to Gov.r S.t Clair, informing him of my Scituation & requesting Assistance. On the 3d of April [1] received an Answer with a party of Men. On the 5.h I left L'Ance a la Graisse. The extreme Politeness & Attention paid to me & Ensign Sedam, who accompanied me, & the tender Care taken of my wounded Men by Mons.r Foucher, L.t Com:dt of this Post, deserves my most sincere Acknowledgements. No one Act of Civility in his Power to me, nor of Care & Attention to my Men was wanting. He insisted upon my living at his Table, & ordered a small House cleared out as a Hospital for my Men, & in person often visited them with his Surgeon to see that their Wants were supplied. On leaving his place, I took with me only two of the wounded, the Scituation of the other three was so dangerous as to make a Removal of them hazardous. At the request of Mons:r Foucher I left them in his Care.

On the 23d of March, the Day after the Attack on my Boat, Capt.n Heart arrived at the Mouth of the Ochappo, where we mett M.r Vigo, neither of them knowing my Misfortune. The Party of Indians that we had received Information of being at the Ochappo were the Party that attacked me. They had moved up the Tenessee when M.r Vigo arrived at the Mouth of Ochappo. He, supposeing they had gone up the latter, went in pursuit of them. Not finding them, he returned to his Camp & sent one of his Men up the Tenessee. This Man came upon the Camp. where he found Mons.r Chatelier, a Trader, alone, who told him that the Indians had gone to attack me, & [who] immediately returned with the Man to M.r Vigo, who upon receiving the Information left Cap.t Heart & his Goods & pursued the party, in Hopes of meeting them before the Attack was made. He arrived at the Indian Camp in the Night of the 23d. The Morning after, Mr Vigo, still supposing the stroke was not struck, endeavoured to persuade three or four of the Chiefs to go with him to meet me. They then told him it was too late, that they had attacked the Barge, killed the Chief, & that they had been dissapointed in their Object. Mr Vigo immediately left them & returned up the Tenessee to the Ochappo. Piamingo had, by this time, arrived with forty Chicasaw Warriors. Vigo & Capt.n Heart immediately embarked & pursued down the River to overtake the Boat & were followed by Piamingo & Alaitamoto, two Chiefs of Influence, with eight Warriors.

Mons.r Chatelier, the Trader who first gave the Information to Mr Vigo of the hostile Designs of the Indians, I have since seen. He tells me that the three Creeks came to the Camp above the Ochappo, told the Shawanoes & Cherokees of what they had seen, & stimulated them to go & attack me, tho Sawai [?], a Cherokee Chief, who lay very sick in Camp, endeavoured all in his Power to prevent thim. [He] told them if I came for good, I ought to be received with friendship, that it was evident this was my Object, or I would not have given them Bread & Tobacco, or suffered them to depart. It was some time before they concluded to take up the Tomhawk. They at last all concluded to go &, supposing the Prize certain, to share the Plunder. They chose a Shawanoe Chief called Popoquan on the Scene to head the Party. Their Plan was to hoist the white flagg [and] to invite me ashore to councel & eat with them. On the Chiefs dropping his Spoon as a Signal, the whole was to fall upon us with their Tomhawks, which they had concealed under their Blanketts for the pur-

pose. They passed the Mouth of Ochappo whilst Mr Vigo was gone up it. He supposes eight of the Party are killed & wounded as only 32 were seen in the Camp when Mr Vigo arrived. One of their Canoes had four Balls through it.

Capt.n Heart, after staying some time at Fort Massack,[11] detached Piamingo & his Party down the Mississipi in search of Intelligence. I mett them on the 7h inst: at the Iron Banks.[12] We satt round the Councill fire until the 10.h when I left him. I delivered him the Message of the President of the United States to his Nation. Both Piamingo & Alaitamoto received me with the most sincere Professions of friendship on their Parts & on the Part of their Nations. They inform me that their People never before were in such Distress for Want of Powder, Lead, Blanketts, Strouds, &c, that they always looked up to their old father (the English) for these Articles & never were disappointed, that they & the Choctaws were the only Nations of Indians who had sought the friendship of the Children of their old father (the Americans), that they had been promised at Hopewell in 1786 by the Amer.n Commissioners & before that by Genl Clark[13] at the ffalls of Ohio, that Traders should be sent amongst them to supply them with Powder & Lead to hunt, & with Goods to cloth their Women & Children, but as yet they had received nothing but promises, & their Distresses were so great that many of their People were obliged to go to the Spaniards, that the Children of their old ffather had often imposed upon them & made them false Speeches, but they now believed the Words of our great Chief the President of the U S. & what I had said & were comforted with the Hopes of soon seeing an End to their Distresses. From Capt Hearts Observations in their Towns, from my own Observations & that of many People who have been in the Chicasaw Towns, I am led to believe that the Chicasaws & Choctaws are really in a very distressed Scituation. Every Advantage is taken to seduce them from their Attachment to us; not an American is seen amongst them with a View to assist them, nor is one of respectable Character to whom they can listen without being deceived. It is no uncommon thing to see Americans frequently amongst them under false Characters &, with pretended Speeches from Congress & the President of the United States, taking Advantage of their Credulity, makeing large Promises & receiving from them Escorts & Assistance without paying them the least Recompence. A fellow not long ago wanted Horses & Assistance to go to the Natches. He went into the Chicasaw Towns, pretending that he was the Son of Gen.l Washington, delivered a Speech to the Chicasaws & was assisted to go to the Choctaws. They heard nothing more of him. An other Party came from Kentucky sent, as they said, by Genl Clark to treat on the Part of the Americans with the Chicasaws, bought a Number of valuable Horses & were to remit Payment in Salt. They have never been heard of since, nor the Salt sent in payment for the Horses. The Indians, believing them Messengers from Genl Clark, were induced to have Confidence in them & to sell them the Horses. Such Disceptions as these have been frequent & when added to the Non-performance of the Promises made by our Commissioners at Hopewell have served to lessen us very much with these people. The British always found it their Interest to keep a Commissioner residing in the Chicasaw & Choctaw Nations & their Mer-

[11]On the north bank of the Ohio River, below the mouth of the Tennessee.
[12]A few miles below the mouth of the Ohio River on the Tennessee side.
[13]George Rogers Clark.

chants always found it their Interest to supply them with Goods.

The Powder given by the State of Virg.a to Piamingo has never yet reached the Nations. Piamingo was attacked on his Way by the Creeks & with Difficulty escaped. He left the Powder & Lead at the long Island[14] in the Tenessee, within the District of Franklin. The people promised to forward it, but have not done it. In conversing on the Subject of establishing a Post in this country I made use of this Misfortune to convince them of the Necessity of our haveing a place of strength to which they could resort in Safety, when they might receive such Articles as were designed for them & in which the Traders might find Safety for their persons & property, that their Certainty of Supplies & the Cheapness of them depended much upon this Measure because the Merchant always charged the Risque he ran on the Price of his Goods. In proportion as this Risque was removed, the Certainty of Goods & the Cheapness of them might be depended upon. They appeared to comprehend the force of my Argument & have assured me that it will be agreeable to their Nation to see a Post for these Purposes anywhere on the Waters of the Tenessee, Ohio or Mississipi.

Haveing seen two of the most influential Chiefs of the Chicasaws with eight respectable Warriors, & haveing had an Oppertunity of communicating my Sentiments to them, as the Season is far advancing for makeing Arrangements to establish the Post & to procure the necessary Trade, I conceived it for the Interest of the United States & thot my time would be better employed in comeing to this Place to make my Report to your Office, than in proceeding farther. The Chicasaws have already had so much said to them that they wish to see something done & no Time should be lost. Piamingo has cheerfully undertaken to carry the Message to the Choctaws & to his Nation & to bring me their Answer. I should certainly have executed this Business myself, but my Party, since my Misfortune of the Tenessee, is so much reduced. The Path from the Iron Banks [is] so dangerous that the Indians do not choose to go on it, but to take the Rout of the Mississipi to the River Margott. I am certain, pressed as the Chicasaws & Choctaws are by the Kickapoos & Wabash Indians on one side & by the Creeks on the other, that it is their Interest & Wish to be connected with us & it depends upon ourselves to strengthen this Connection & reap Advantage from it.

It is no very difficult thing for a single Man in a private Character to pass through the Chicasaw & Choctaw Country, tho some are cutt off in their Passage. A Party of three mett this unhappy fate at the Mouth of Duck Creek a few Days before I passed it. The Scituation of a public Officer in the Chicasaw Towns waiting the Time necessary to collect the Nation to receive his Address & comeing for the purposes on which I was sent would be very hazardous unless he was supported by a respectable Party of his own. The Information would soon reach the Creeks & they would probably cutt him off. The Chicasaws could not & the Choctaws are too distant to prevent it. It is but two years ago that a Number of Americans were in this way cutt off near the Metropolis of the Chicasaw Nation by the Creeks. The Cumberland People had killed two Creeks & a few Cherokees on the Ochappo; the party was headed by Coll Robinson [Robertson][15] & had two Chicasaws for their Guides. A Number of Creeks

[14]Near Kingsport, in the Holston River.

in Revenge came into the Chicasaw Country & murdered several Americans, amongst whom was a Mr Davenport,[16] a Man of some Note in this western Country.

I have made an arrangement with Piamingo for three or four of the Chicasaws & Choctaws to meet me about the 9h of next Month on the Ohio, to go to the ffalls for the Powder & Lead you was pleased to direct me to deliver them. They could not meet me sooner. We shall then concert the best Plan to gett it safe into their Country. The Wabash Indians on the one Side & the Creeks on the other watch them so close that it is difficult in the Warr & hunting Season to gett access to them, encumbered with such a Burthen. I shall use every Measure in my Power to see that this Supply getts safe into their Towns. It is of the utmost Consequence that it should & I see no other Way than to send it with an Officer & a party of Men from the ffalls by Water, who are to be mett at a point we shall agree on by a Party with Horses ready to take it to the Towns.

With Respect to the Post you wish established at the Mouth of the Ochappo: I am decidedly of Opinion that it can not be established untill the Creeks & Cherokees are more in our Interest. That is, with the force you propose. We find all our Garrisons starving this Year & every Detachment arrested in its Progress for Want of Provision. If this is the Scituation of our Posts upon the great Waters, what must be that of a Post so far detached. No Supplies, with Certainty, can be drawn from the franklin District, unless by Consent of the Cherokees. The Boats must pass through the Midst of this Nation. One attempting to decend the Tenessee ten Days after my Misfortune, & which I saw on the Mississipi, was fired on & had one Man killed & one wounded above the Muscle Shoals. No Dependence can be calculated upon from this Quarter & the Cherokees, I am led to believe, will not be content to see a Post established at the Ochappo. They are already so hemmed in & encroached up by the franklin & Cumberland People that the Tenessee is their only outlet, in Case of Misfortune. It will be difficult to pursuade them to suffer a Post to be established which must shutt this Door against them.

Besides, the Difficulty will be great in procuring Traders of Capital & Consequence to risque their Property at such a Distance, subject to so many Attacks in their Passage up the River, which can not be mounted by loaded Boats in less than twenty Days. Attacks, not only from the Variety of Nations who frequent these Waters, but also from the white People on the frontiers—the latter of which they have felt to their sorrow, all the Traders being cutt off & their Goods & Peltry plundered from them by the Cumberland People.

The Party above related, headed by Coll Robinson, & two of them killed. Mr Vigo himself at this Time had a Perogue with £500 first Cost in Goods, on her way to the Illinois Country, which by Accident halted at the Mouth of the Tenessee. The Boat & every Article was plundered & no Redress. The little Supply that the Indians have since received has been in small Quantities from L'Ance a la Graisse. It appears to me, from consulting Merchants of the first Consequence in this Country, that no End effectual & honorable to the United States can be accomplished untill

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[15]This probably refers to the famous Coldwater expedition led by Col. James Robertson in 1787. See J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 465-71.

[16]William Davenport, agent for Georgia.

we have a Post on the great Waters, as a place of Deposit for a general Assortment of Merchandize, from which Detachments are to be made with small Assortments to the different Hunting Grounds on the Wabash, Tenessee, & Mississipi & to the Illinois Country. The place most advantageous for this purpose appears to me somewhere between the Tenessee & the Mouth of the Ohio, or between that & the White Cliffs, five Miles below the Iron Banks on the Mississipi. This is the Mode pursued by the Spanish & British. L'Ance a la Graisse & S.t Louis are the Residence of Merchants of Property on the Part of the Spaniards & Detroit & Michilimackinack on the Part of the British. The Man who trades with the Indians is a mere Adventurer & seldom an Importer. An Importer at S.t Louis or Michilimackinack has each, perhaps, a Dozen of these People who, with small Assortments of Goods are detached in different Directions. They take their Assortments in the ffall & all rendevous at the Capital early in the Spring with their Remittances. The Merchant then assorts his Skins & Hides & sends them off. This is the only Way in which the Trade is carried on to Effect. The Man of Property feels himself secure in his Residence & the Trade is sufficient to pay a Profit to the Adventurer & ensure a fortune to the Importer. It is no uncommon Thing to see a Merchant worth from 30 to 80 thousand Dollars at S.t Louis, the Result of this Trade. Besides the Advantage of this Trade to the Individuals, the Necessities of the Indians is always a Rod in the Hand of Government. This is so pressing that the Comdg Officer at S.t Louis & L'Ance a la Graisse, by stopping their Supplies, always has it in his Power to bring them to Reason. Such are our Difficulties at present for Want of an Establishment of this Kind that we have no Traders, except M.r Vigo. He is the only Person who has, for some Years, brought his Merchandize from the Atlantic States & the only one in this Country who supports his Dignity as a Merchant. His Security is entirely owing to the Affections of the Indians who all know him & esteem him. The Indians are told by the Adventurers from the British & Spaniards that we are poor & have no Goods, that a Connection with us can avail them nothing (their Experience since the Peace confirms the Report). They have seen our frontier People encroaching upon their Lands & a few unprincipled ffellows amongst them with a few Keggs of Whiskey, but they have not seen anything that looks like an Establishment made for the purposes of supplying their Wants & for this purpose only. To establish a Post in the Chicasaw or Choctaw Towns, or farr down the Mississipi, there is no Trader that will support it in competition with the Spaniards. The Expence of bringing your Remittances up the Mississipi & Ohio & then to Baltimore or Philadelphia (which, at present, are the Places with which the Merchants on the Ohio trade) will distroy all Prospect of Profit to the Trader. But still, Trade may be established with all the Chicasaws & most of the Cherokees & Choctaws from the Post I propose, because both Nations are obliged to hunt in the Neck of Land formed between the Mississipi & Tenessee & between that & the Cumberland. They have no other hunting Grounds & it is not only convenient, but it is the Custom with them, to receive their Supplies in their Hunting Grounds in the Spring before they return to their Towns, that they can do on the Waters of the Tenessee or some of the upper Streams of the Mississipi. It would not be difficult for the Merchant at the Post I propose to accomplish this. The Chicasaws & Choctaws, instead of carrying a Number of Loads of Skins to his Town, will carry a less cumbersome Load, the Price of them in Goods. Another Advantage will

result from this Post as long as the Spaniards continue their present System of Monopoly & their Embarrassment in Trade. The American Merchant of Capital will be able to undersell the Spanish Merchants. Goods are certainly brought from Baltimore & Philada [Philadelphia] & sold in all this Country, even as low as the Natchez, cheaper than they are brought from New Orleans or Michilimackinack. I know it to be a fact at present, & have seen during this Tour of Duty two Gentlemen of my particular Acquaintance on the Mississipi who had each a large Assortment which they were carrying to the Natches, along with a Cargo of flower for New Orleans. They take Cash in Payment & return by the Way of Philad.a. A Return up the Mississipi with ffurrs would not quit Cost. The Spaniard sends them to New Orleans at little Expense. I am farr from supposeing the Profits of this Trade I am now arguing for are any great national Object to my Country, but it deserves their Attention as a political Engine giving them a concomitant Influence with their Neighbours over the Savages who, if brought against us, can only be subdued at the Expence of much Blood & Treasure. Another Argument in favor of an Establishment near the Mouth of Ohio is that it furnishes an Assylum to our own Citizens who have been unfortunate in mounting the Wabash or Ohio, or who wish to proceed up the Mississipi to this Country. Many parties have been distroyed by the Indians from Want of this Assylum. My own Scituation would have been extremely painful if it had not been for the Civilities I rece[ive]d at L'Ance a la Graisse.

The Post I would prefer would be at or near the Mouth of the Tenessee. There the Position is a good one. It is necessary to have it on that Side the Ohio for the Convenience of the Chicasaws, Choctaws, & Cherokees. If one equally good can be found lower down nearer the Mississipi, it will be better. The Position at the Iron Banks or the White Cliffs are of no greater Consequence to the Indians than one at the Tenessee & the Current from thence to the Ohio, in order to communicate with the Illinois, is terrible indeed. Should an Establishment be made in this Country, it must be a military one & to convince the Indians that it is made merely for Trade, no Settlements should be made at it but those absolutely necessary for the Garrison & Traders. When ever our frontier People settle as farmers, the Indians calculate upon the Loss of their Country, and, such is the Licentiousness of the People, that no Government that I have seen established in this Country, has been able to check the Abuses, nay, the wilful Murders of Indians by the Inhabitants. It is best they should be kept apart.

I am sorry to inform you that Attempts will be made to form Settlements in the Course of this Year on the District of Country guaranteed by Congress to the Chicasaw & Choctaw Nations. Much of it is already surveyed & has given to those Nations Cause of Jealousy. One Attempt will be made by a Mr Gaines of Kentucky,[17] who has advertized in the Kentuck Gazette[18] for the purpose. It will be made near the Muscle Shoals. Another [will be made] near the Yazous & one between the Cumberland & Tenessee. The Settlement at the Yazous, I am told, will be attempted whether the Indians consent or not. A Mr Holder,[19] who was L.t-Coll under Genl Clark at Post Vincient when Genl Harmar visited

[17] B. Gaines.
[18] December 12, 1789.
[19] John Holder, later commissioned colonel commandment of the Yazoo Battalion.

that Post in 1787, is the Person entrusted with the Execution of this Design. The purchase is made by a M.r Snipes & a Compy[20] in South Carolina from the State of Georgia. These same Lands are within the Spanish Claim & the Walnutt Hills,[21] which are part of them, I am told, Gov.r Miro[22] has granted to Genl Wilkinson[23] & his Associates. Surely, if we expect the Confidence of the Chicasaws & Choctaws & expect to live in peace with them, we must comply with our own Stipulations & prevent these Settlements. It is more for the Dignity of the United States to do this themselves than to leave it to be done by the Savages who, whenever engaged in Acts of Hostilities, seldom know where to leave off. Maj.r Croghan,[24] who is the Surveyor of the Virga [Virginia] Military Lands, tells me most of the Lands of any Value to the North Boundary of North Carolina on the Cumberland, Tenessee & Mississipi are surveyed & allotted as Bounty Lands to the Officers & Soldiers of the late Virga Line & that they mean to settle as fast as possible. Most of this Land is in the Chicasaw District. Other Tracts to the Southward of the above Line are surveyed for the same purpose to the Officers & Soldiers of the North Carolina Line.

With Respect to the several other objects to which you have called my Attention, & on which you request the most explicit Explanation,

	Miles
I have to remark that: from the ffalls of Ohio to the Mouth of Tenessee accdg to Hutchins[25] is—	425
from the Mouth of Tenessee to Duck River in past Observations—	130
To my Camp on the Island[26] above—	90
To the Place at which I was attacked—	30
To Ochappo, accordg to Capt Heart—	6
To the Muscle Shoals " " "	36
	292

By Land	Miles	
from the ffalls to Dansvill—	90	settled
To Pitnams[27] on Green River—	50	stages to stop at
To Big Barrier ferry[28]—	70	no settlements except the ferry
to Red River—	30(	settled in part
to Nashville—	60(	
To the Muscle Shoals	60	no settlements

	Miles	
from Nashville to Harpers[29]—	20	settled
to the Mouth of Duck River—	160(	no settlements
to the Chicasaw Towns[30]	60(	

[20]William Clay Snipes and the South Carolina Yazoo Company.
[21]Vicksburg.
[22]Esteban Miro, governor of Spanish Louisiana.
[23]James Wilkinson, of the Spanish Intrigue.
[24]George Croghan.
[25]Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina . . .* (London, 1778); see folding table.
[26]Probably the island near Crump, in Hardin County, Tennessee.
[27]Pitman's Creek lies about 70 miles south and slightly east of Louisville.
[28]The Big Barren River. The ferry was either at or slightly above Bowling Green.
[29]The Harpeth River.
[30]Near the headwaters of the Tombigbee River.

	Miles
from the Mouth of Ochappo to the Chick:w Towns—	80
from the Canoe Waters of Ochappo to those of Mobile[31]—	40
from the Chicasaw Towns to the nearest Choctaw Towns[32]—	78
from the Chicasaw Towns to the Cherokees[33]—	300
To the Creeks[34]—	350
To Mobile—	300
To the Bluff[35]—	120
To the Mouth of the Tenessee about 200 Miles by Land	

The Navigation of the Tenessee from the Holstein Settlements[36] to Ochappo, I am told, is only practicable in the Spring & ffall floods, the Muscle Shoals being impassible in other Seasons for Boats of any Burthen.

It is impossible to give you any Idea of the Tenessee from Hutchins Map.[37] He never went up the River himself & it has never been surveyed. The Ochappo, a principal Creek on the West, is not laid down at all. I have asked the favor of Capt.n Heart to protract this River from my Journal & to connect it with the Mississipi & Ohio from Hutchins & Ross.[38] This you have enclosed. It will give you a better Idea of the Country than I can possibly draw to you upon either of the Maps you was pleased to send me.

I shall answer the points which you wish to have ascertained in the Order they are proposed in your Instructions.

1.t The Cherokees & Chicasaws are supposed about 500 Warriors each; the Choctaws aboutt 9000, the lower Towns near the Spaniards of no great Consequence, but from their Scituations attached to their Interests; the Creeks about 10,000.

2— The Chicasaws are mostly well armed, about two thirds with Rifles, but little Ammunition, which they receive from Mobile. The Choctaws are badly armed. The other Nations [I have] no Account of.

3— [There are] 4 Towns & 1 Village in the Chicasaw Nation, as marked in the Map. The other Nations not asserted.

4— In the Chicasaw Nation, Chickaulpoo, or Big Town, the Residence of Tuskatukoh, or the Hair Lip King (Olaitamoto is Chief of this Town). The King, a dissipated Character, [is] to be bought for a small Price. He succeeded his Uncle, the Red King; [he] cares but little for his own Dignity or for that of his Nation. He & all his Chiefs except Piamingo have recd Medalls & Presents from the Spaniards. Olaitamoto, Nephew to Piamato, (is) a very good character. 4 Miles to the S. E. is Chickarallai, or Long Town. Piamingo, [the] Chief, [is] firmly attached to the Amer-

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[31]Tombigbee River.

[32]Below the Chickasaw country and between the Tombigbee and the Mississippi rivers.

[33]Between the Tennessee and Coosa rivers.

[34]South of the Cherokee country.

[35]The Chickasaw Bluffs on the Mississippi north of the Wolf River.

[36] In northeastern Tennessee, on the Holston River.

[37]*A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina. . . .* By Thomas Hutchins (London, 1778).

[38]*Course of the River Mississippi from the Balise to Fort Chartres. . . .* By Lieut. Ross . . . (London, 1775).

icans. 8 Miles S., a little to the W. [is] Chettalai [where] Muskautofoohishaw [is] Chief. The [other] Village is Tuskatville [where there is] no Chief. It is 6 Miles S.W.

5— The Kind of Goverm.t not well ascertained. The Dignity of King & Chief [is] Hereditary.

6— Religion [is] not well enough ascertained to describe.

7— The Chicasaws do not depend entirely upon hunting. Of late years they have done less than ever, for Want of Traders to purchase of them. They possess a great many Horses & some families have Negroes & Cattle. They live in great Plenty in their Towns. Their Provisions [are] Hogs, Poultry, Eggs, Beans, Corn & the finest Potatoes I ever saw. The Chicasaws appear to be verging fast towards the State of ffarmers. Game is getting scarce. The Cherokees are much in the same State, but they do not possess so many Horses or Negroes. They are more used to Water.

8— The Usual Huntg Grounds of the Chicasaks, Choctaws & Cherokees is between Mississipi & Tenessee & between that & the Cumberland. The Cherokees [hunt] high up these Rivers. Some of the Choctaws hunt on the West Side of the Mississipi.

9— The Cherokees, Chicasaws & Choctaws kill Bear, Otter, Deer, & some Beaver. The Chicasaws & Choctaws dress their Skins to make them more valuable. They dispose of large Quantities of Bear Oil for the Orleans Markett.

10— About 7 or 8 thousand pounds of well assorted Goods annually would be sufficient for the Supply of that Part of the Cherokees, Creeks, Chicasaws, & Choctaws as would take their Supplies from the Post I have proposed. The Quality & the particular Kinds I know not with Precision.

The Message of the President of the U States to the Cherokees, I have had no Oppertunity to forward. Indeed, I have my Doubts of the Propriety of sending it, since the Insult I have received from them, untill your further Orders or until I can consult Gov.r St Clair on the Subject.

Gov.r S.t Clair is removed to Cahokia, where I shall proceed to procure his permisison to take part of his Detachment to assist me up the Ohio.

I am unhappy that it has not been in my Power to fulfill in person the Instructions you were pleased to give me. The unhappy Affair of the 22d March put it out of my Power. I have, however, done everything, circumstanced as I have since been, to further the Business. I feel conscious of haveing acted with an honest Zeal in the Execution of my Orders, nor can I accuse myself with Want of Conduct in my Misfortunes. The Part an American Officer has to act in this Country is often painful in the extreme; mine in the present Instance was truly so. We are taught that the Cherokees & many other Nations are at Peace with us & Proclamations are published requiring the Subjects of the United States to regard those Nations as friends. They appear before us cloaked with the Garb of friendship & sailing under the White flagg of Peace. We have no Way to determine their real Designs untill we receive the Strokes from them— and that they never give but under some very decided Advantage. It is a strange Paradox that a Nation should be at Peace with us & the Individuals at Warr. As strange as it is, it is equally true that most of the Individuals in every Nation said to be at peace with us, except the Chicasaws & Choctaws, are constantly at Warr. When Complaint is made to the Chiefs, we are told it is their foolish young Men that can not be restrained. This is the only Satisfaction we have for the many & repeated Murders committed upon

us Dayly.

I can not close this Letter without testifying my Gratitude to Capt.n Heart for the Execution of the Duty I entrusted him with. Tho he employed much more time than either he or myself calculated upon, yet I am convinced that this was owing to the Badness of the Season & the slow Movement of the Indians. I am also much obliged to Mr Vigo. This Gentleman has shewn on this & every other Occasion an Attachment to the Interests of the United States which convinces me [that] since he has become their Subject, it is his Wish to do them Service & to promote their Dignity in this Country. His Influence is greater amongst the Indians than any Man I know of & it is always exerted for the Interest of this Country.

I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Obd Sert

Copy J— D—

Genl Knox

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1944

Compiled by Martha L. Ellison

Alden, John Richard. John Stuart and the southern colonial frontier; a study of Indian relations, war, trade, and land problems in the southern wilderness, 1754-1775. Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan press, 1944. xiv, 384 p. maps.

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[Armstrong, Zella.] Some Tennessee heroes of the revolution. Pam. no. 5. Compiled from pension statements. Chattanooga, Lookout pub. co., [1944] 34 p. [Contains index to Pams. 11-5]

BAIN. Essary, S. H. Samuel McCutchen Bain, fifth president, 1916 [of the Tennessee academy of science] (Jour. of Tenn. acad. of science. Oct. '44. v.19:277-279. port.)

BATE. Farnum, G. R. William B. Bate, soldier of Dixie, lawyer, and statesman of the union. (Amer. bar assn. jour. Feb. '44. v.30:104-105)

BEAN STATION TAVERN. T.V.A. Department of Regional Studies. The Bean Station tavern restoration project, prepared by Robert M. Howes. Knoxville, The Authority, 1944. 32, xvi p. illus., plans. Typewritten.

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Essary, S. H. Samuel McCutchen Bain, fifth president. 1916 [of the Tennessee academy of science] (Jour. of Tenn. academy of science. Oct. '44. v.19:277-279.port.)

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Wilson, Charles W., Jr. and Frank, John G. Ferdinand Von Roemer and his visit to Tennessee in 1847. (Jour. of Tenn. academy of science. Jl. and Oct. '44. v.19:270-276; 323-333) [To be continued]

Wingfield, Marshall. Old straight: a sketch of the life and campaigns of Lieutenant General Alexander P. Stewart, C.S.A. (Tenn. hist. qr. Je. '44. v.3:99-130)

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UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1944

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Brandon, Helen Gould. A history of Stewart county, Tennessee

Coleman, Betty Boulware. The historical development of the Knoxville electric power system and an analysis of its financial operations through 1943

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Stone, Camille Evans. Development of services for crippled children in Tennessee, 1919-1943

Williams, Sarah Virginia. A history of Tennessee public school lands

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATION, 1944

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Montgomery, James Elmer. Three Appalachian communities: cultural differentials as they affect levels of living and population pressure

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Tennessee During the Revolutionary War. By Samuel Cole Williams. (A Contribution to the Sesquicentennial of Tennessee Statehood in 1946. Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1944. xii, 294 pp. Illustrations, appendices, footnotes, index. $4.00.)

"This volume is intended to fill the gap between the author's *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* and the *History of the Lost State of Franklin;* or, to be more exact, between January 1, 1776, and the close of the year 1784. It treats of the Tennessee country *during* the Revolutionary War, not merely *in* that war—of civic affairs as well as military. The three volumes will be a record of the history of Tennessee from 1541 to the period of the Southwest Territory, 1789-1796, the last being the year in which the State of Tennessee was organized and admitted into the Union of States.

"The purpose has been to treat of the period of the Revolutionary War in a detailed and definite way. In order to do that, many of the principal archives and libraries in England and America were visited in search of materials. . . .

"It will be apparent to the reader that the author considers the battles fought in the West by the men of the Tennessee country to be parts, and material parts, of the War of the Revolution. So far but inadequate attention has been given to the 'Revolution in the West' by historians. Roosevelt and Weeks may be deemed exceptions, laying aside state historians who are so frequently quoted in these pages.

"Further, it is believed that in this work there is a demonstration that the men of the western waters were efficient factors in winning the war. . . .

"The story told in the pages which follow reveals the almost startling fact that this people volunteered and fought battles in behalf of far-distant regions during the Revolution: twice in Georgia, three times in South Carolina, once in North Carolina, once in the Indian country and twice in the Kentucky country. They earned for their homeland the title 'The Volunteer State' many decades before it was bestowed." (Preface.)

Phases of the History of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. By Samuel C. Williams. (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1944. viii, 91 pp. Limited edition of 150 numbered copies, footnotes. ($2.00.)

"This booklet is distinctly not a history of the court of last resort in Tennessee. The purpose has been to treat only of phases of that history with the hope that at no distant date some member of the legal profession will address himself to the task of writing a comprehensive history of that tribunal, and that in that event he may derive some measure of aid from the pages that follow. . . .

"As to the biographical sketches which appear in the text, a choice of subjects had to be made of a few judges who, by common consent, were great. Others should be treated of in a history of the court.

"There would be space in such a work for chapters on certain interesting episodes in the history of the tribunal on *causes celebre,* and on anecdotes and facetiae. All such would give to the volume a human interest, almost lacking in the present offering.

"The need for a volume such as this is somewhat accentuated by the fact that so far a number of our outstanding judges have been neglected by editors who have compiled volumes of collective American biography." (Preface.)

Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy. By Charles W. Ramsdell. Edited with a Foreword by Wendell H. Stephenson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. *The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.* xxiv, 136 pp. $2.00.)

"Many reasons have been assigned for the failure of the Confederacy to materialize in an independent republic. . . .

"What was Ramsdell's conclusion after studying the problem for thirty years? 'If I were asked what was the greatest single weakness of the Confederacy,' he wrote in his third lecture, 'I should say, without much hesitation, that it was in this matter of finances. The resort to irredeemable paper money and to excessive issues of such currency was fatal, for it weakened not only the purchasing power of the government but also destroyed economic security among the people. In fact, there seems to be nothing vital that escaped its baneful influence.' Time and again Ramsdell recurred to the financial question, either as a problem in itself or as the key to others. Among the other reasons he ranked transportation difficulty 'next to finances in its deleterious consequences,' though he inserted a cautious 'perhaps' in his statement. He looked upon 'the industrial weakness of the South . . . [as] one of the decisive factors in its defeat,' gave much attention to illegal trade with the enemy, and introduced various other elements that contributed to the Lost Cause." (Foreword.)

In this posthumous publication of Professor Ramsdell's lectures, some of the problems discussed are illustrated by references to the experiences of Tennessee as a Confederate state.

Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. x, 401 pp. Bibliography, footnotes, index. $3.75.)

"The attempt to tell the story of the Confederate Cabinet is an ambitious one. Although the materials for a study of the Confederacy are voluminous, there are few intimate accounts of the chief officers of the civil administration. Jefferson Davis's history of the Confederacy is disappointing in this respect. Only two of the Cabinet members, John H. Reagan and Stephen R. Mallory, left memoirs of value. Diaries, letters, and memoirs of contemporaries leave many questions unanswered. The dearth of personal records has resulted in the neglect of the former Confederate secretaries. Five of them have been the subject of biographies. Most of these studies, however, fail to exhaust the possibilities of the Cabinet member in his relations with his colleagues and the President." (Preface.)

One of the Cabinet members, Postmaster General John H. Reagan, although a resident of Texas, was a native of Tennessee.

Belle Boyd: Confederate Spy. By Louis A. Sigaud. (Richmond: The Dietz

Press, 1944. xiv, 256 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

"To what was actually known of her, the fertile and often malicious gossip of time has inevitably added many strange legends. And today susceptible history is on the verge of recording falsely that Belle Boyd was not what she said she was, and even that she was someone she could not have been. . . .

"In this book, her story is told again. But now it is amplified by the impressive testimony of others, by the official records, and by the papers and recollections of her descendants and connections. The officers she mentioned served at the places and in the capacities stated by her. And in these pages her witnesses testify eloquently that Belle Boyd was what she said she was, and did what she said she did.

"These additions to Belle Boyd's tale do much more than supplement it. They substantiate it, and in so doing give it real historical significance." (Foreword.)

Included are references to Belle Boyd's relatives in Knoxville and an account of her visit to the city during the Civil War.

NOTES AND NEWS, 1944

Dr. Thomas D. Clark, professor of history at the University of Kentucky and author of *Pills, Petticoats and Plows,* was the speaker at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society held October 19 at the Church Street Methodist Church. His subject was "The Country Store in Post-Civil War Tennessee." It is printed in this number of the *Publications.*

The winner of the Calvin M. McClung Award of $50.00 for the best paper printed in *Publications* No. 16 was announced at the banquet. The prize went to Joseph H. Parks, associate professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama, for his paper "John Bell and Secession." The judges were: Philip D. Jordan, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; Hugh T. Lefler, University of North Carolina; and Grace Lee Nute, Minnesota Historical Society.

The following papers were presented at the regular monthly meetings of the Society in 1944:

January. "Hiwassee Island Excavations" by T. M. N. Lewis, Knoxville.

February. "The History of Legal Education in Tennessee—A Factor in Tennessee's Distinctive Legal Practice" by C. C. Street, Maryville.

March. "East Tennessee College, 1807-1840, A predecessor of the University of Tennessee" by S. J. Folmsbee, Knoxville.

April. "East Tennessee Female Institute and Knoxville Female Seminary" by Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville.

May. "History of Post Oak Springs Christian Church" by H. C. Wagner, Kimberlin Heights.

June. "The Geologic History of East Tennessee" by H. C. Amick, Knoxville.

November. "East Tennessee University, 1840-1861" by S. J. Folmsbee, Knoxville.

December. "Knox County Government, 1792-1860" by Harvey Broome, Knoxville.

Officers for 1945 elected by the Society at its December meeting are: Harvey Broome, president; Helen M. Harris, vice-president for Knoxville area; Judge Samual Cole Williams, vice-president for Upper East Tennessee; Culver H. Smith, vice-president for Lower East Tennessee; Martha L. Ellison, secretary; Laura E. Luttrell, treasurer; J. Wesley Hoffmann and Nannie Lee Hicks, members of the executive committee. Dr. S. J. Folmsbee was reelected as managing editor of the *Publications.* Daniel M. Robison and Joseph H. Parks were elected to membership on the board of editors for terms of three years.

Changes in the membership of the Tennessee Historical Commission in 1944 were: resignations—Austin P. Foster and Luke Lea of Nashville and Laura E. Luttrell of Knoxville; appointments—Vernon Sharp, Jr. and Francis Warfield of Nashville and Mary U. Rothrock of Knoxville.

Continuing its program to place portraits, busts or plaques in the halls of the state capitol in commemoration of distinguished Tennesseans, the Tennessee Historical Commission unveiled two portraits on November 2. A portrait of Lieutenant General Alexander P. Stewart, C.S.A., painted by G. Edwin Shofner, was presented by Dr. Marshall Wingfield and unveiled

by Mrs. George H. Williams of St. Louis, a granddaughter of General Stewart. A portrait of Admiral William B. Caperton, a native of Maury County and Tennessee's second four-star admiral in the U. S. Navy (Admiral Farragut being the first) was painted by Max Westfield. It was presented by William E. Beard and unveiled by the Admiral's daughter, Miss Marguerite Caperton of Newport, Rhode Island.

Stanley Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, read a paper on "Nashville During the Civil War" at one of the sessions of the Southern Historical Association convention held in Nashville Novem-ber 3 and 4.

The Tennessee Folklore Society held its first meting in two years in Nashville on October 28. Officers elected were: Mrs. Flora L. McDowell, Smithville, president; T. J. Farr, Cookeville, treasurer; Dorothy Horne, Maryville, secretary and editor of the *Bulletin.*

At the mid-year joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association held in Chicago December 28-29, George Fort Milton, now of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* spoke on "History: Key to the Magic Door."

A bronze plaque in memory of Mark Robertson Cockrill was unveiled in the state capitol August 7 by the Tennessee Agricultural Hall of Fame Commission. The plaque commemorated his contribution to Tennessee agriculture and stock raising in the period before the Civil War. Judge Albert G. Ewing represented the family in presenting the tablet to the state.

At a meeting of the Civil War Round Table of Chicago on October 18, Stanley Horn of Nashville introduced one of the two speakers—Robert S. Henry, author of *First With the Most Forrest.* Mr. Henry, who now lives in Washington and is assistant to the president of the Association of American Railroads, was born in Clifton, Tennessee, and graduated from Vanderbilt. The second speaker at this meeting was Walter H. Hebert, author of *Fighting Joe Hooker.*

Cumberland Furnace Iron Works, the first iron foundry constructed west of the Appalachian Mountains, was razed during the year to furnish scrap metal for the war effort. Cannon balls used by General Andrew Jackson's forces at the Battle of New Orleans were moulded at this foundry.

Alfred Leland Crabb of the George Peabody College faculty spoke to the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, in January on "The Adventures and Trials of An Amateur Who Attempts to Write A Historical Novel." Mr. Crabb is the author of the three popular novels with Nashville as their setting—*Dinner at Belmont, Supper at the Maxwell House* and *Breakfast at The Hermitage.*

Edwin Lamar Davis of Tullahoma has been appointed head of the Federal Trade Commission for 1945. Mr. Davis has been a member of the Commission since 1933, having previously served 8 years as judge of Tennessee's seventh judical court and 15 years in Congress. He is a brother of the late Norman Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross.

Wendell H. Stephenson of the Louisiana State University faculty is the recipient of a research grant by the General Education Board to study "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship" in 1944-45.

James W. Moffitt, who served as secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society for 8 years and edited the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* joined the history faculty of Tennessee College for Women at Murfreesboro in September.

The speech on Robert E. Lee delivered by the Rev. Marshall Wingfield at the annual Lee birthday banquet in St. Louis is printed in the Spring

1944 issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly.* Dr. Wingfield is a Congregational minister in Memphis and commander-in-chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

John Trotwood Moore's poem, "Sam Davis," is printed in the Spring 1944 issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* with a brief biographical sketch of the Confederate soldier.

A special historical edition of the *Morgan County News,* prepared by the senior class of Oakdale High School, of which C. C. Justus is principal, was issued April 7. The paper contains a wealth of information about the history of the county, its early settlers, and the family histories of present residents.

Among the important acquisitions of the McClung Historical Collection of Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, in 1944 were: *American Archives,* 9 volumes; *New Jersey Archives,* 43 volumes; and a microfilm of the *List of North Carolina Land Grants in Tennessee.* 1778-1791.

Published at a time to make it very helpful to Tennesseans engaged in the writing of county histories to be printed in the state's sesqui-centennial year (1946) is *Local History: How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It* by Donald Dean Parker. The book is available from the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City, for $1.00.

Douglas Crawford McMurtrie, who attained a national reputation as a bibliographer of the history of printing, died at Evanston, Illinois, on September 29. In 1933 Mr. McMurtrie published *Early Printing in Tennessee, with a Bibliography of the Issues of the Tennessee Press,* 1793-1830. In 1936 he planned and carried out, with the assistance of the WPA and Historical Records Commission, the American Imprints Inventory.

W. S. ("Dad") Lively died in November in McMinnville at the age of 88. He was a pioneer tintypist, daguerrotypist and photographer, some of his work having been exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution.

Vastine Stickley, 88, oldest resident of Madisonville, died December 16. Mr. Stickley was an authority on the history of Monroe County and wrote a column "In the Long Ago" for the Madisonville *Democrat.*

The East Tennessee Historical Society lost one of its life members when J. Fred Johnson died on October 4. He was president of the Kingsport Improvement Company and one of the leading figures in the development of that city.

General W. T. Kennerly, a sustaining member of the Society since 1929, died on January 29.

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